SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS

FIELD MARSHAL

MOHAMMAD AYUB KHAN

PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

VOLUME-VII

JULY 1964-JUNE 1965

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AND STATEMENTS

BY FIELD MARSHAL

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PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

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BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen: Assalam-o-Alaikum.

When you hear this broadcast, I shall be on my way to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. My first stop-over will be Kabul where His Majesty the King of Afghanistan has kindly asked me to break my journey for luncheon and for exchange of views. It is a matter of satisfaction for all of us that relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan have shown distinct improvement of late. I hope and pray that they will continue to improve so that the two brotherly nations can stand shoulder to shoulder against the dangers around us. Past misunderstanding and tension between our countries has done nothing but harm to both of us. There are no real differences between us. Far-sighted statesmanship, if not the much stronger claim of Muslim brotherhood, requires us to live as good neighbours to our mutual advantage. If we are able to do so it will be a major contribution to the cause of peace in this part of the world.

My next stop-over will be Teheran where His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran has kindly invited me to spend two days. Our relations with Iran have been of the friendliest nature ever since the birth of Pakistan. And the credit for this goes primarily to His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah who has been our friend and ally through thick and thin. I hope my visit will serve to reaffirm and strengthen the bonds of mutual friendship and understanding between Pakistan and Iran.

From Teheran I shall proceed to Turkey which has also been our friend and ally throughout. Long before CENTO, the Muslims of

this sub-continent cherished the warmest feelings for their Turkish brethren. Turkey faces a major problem in Cyprus and in this we stand solidly behind her. We have great sympathy for the Turkish Cypriots who are passing through an extremely difficult period. We earnestly hope and pray that their sufferings are soon relieved.

During my previous visits to Turkey, I was always profoundly impressed by the brotherly and friendly feelings which the Turks have for the people of Pakistan. I hope that my present visit will serve to bring the two countries closer still.

From Turkey I shall proceed to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. People often wonder what practical purpose this conference serves. This conference has no executive powers and, therefore, one should not expect any executive consequences to flow from its deliberations. But this forum provides a very good opportunity for exchange of views and for a meeting of hearts. To my mind no opportunity for bringing the nations of the world together, and for creating better understanding amongst them, should be missed. If the ties of Commonwealth relations facilitate mutual adjustment and better appraisal of common problems, they should be appreciated and made use of.

During the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, I shall also take the opportunity to accept the kind invitation of the Government of Eire to visit their beautiful and friendly country. We cannot forget that Eire supported us actively in the Security Council debates on Kashmir. Such a friendly gesture fills our hearts with gratitude.

During the Prime Ministers' Conference, I hope to have my first meeting with Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister of India. I hope that he regains full health by then and is able to attend. I also sincerely hope that we will be able to pave the way for better relations between our two countries. But that cannot come about unless we are prepared to forget past hatreds and prejudices. These have unfortunately been fanned by a few militant organisations and individuals in India. The vast majority of the people of India are sensible. And it would be a tragedy if they allow their better sense to be clouded or swayed by the extremists within their own country.

Whatever differences arose between Hindus and Muslims, they were due to the nature of the political struggle at the turn of the century. Once independence had been achieved, we should have endeavoured to live as good neighbours, for the sake of mutual benefit, if not for any other higher moral consideration. Hostility between

India and Pakistan had already caused incalculable harm to both the countries. Yet it is not too late to prevent the situation from deteriorating further. It will require a major effort and complete change of heart but that effort must be made if we have to save our countries from disaster.

To begin with, we must put a stop to these incidents along the borders. What good can these pin-pricks do? They result in senseless loss of innocent human life and produce nothing except bitterness and resentment.

It is vital that the Indian Muslims must not be exposed to mob barbarity and constant communal pressures. They are citizens of India and have served her well. Their future is inextricably woven with the future of India, and India's destiny is their destiny. It is for the Government and the people of India to protect the members of the Muslim minority and to give them a sense of belonging to the country. On our part we regard the minorities in Pakistan as a sacred trust. There have been far fewer communal incidents in Pakistan as compared to India and these too have been part of a vicious circle. What is required is to break the vicious circle and to prevent any further communal incidents on either side. I am glad that members of the Hindu community who had left their homes in East Pakistan when communal disturbances broke out in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal, have started coming back home. Those who are still away from their homes are welcome to return. Most of the Garo Christians, who were misled into leaving the country, have come back to their hearths and homes. They have been given back their lands, houses, and cattle and even their movable property which had been kept in safe custody for them. Recently, I sent the Home Minister and the Home Secretary to East Pakistan to tour the province and to reassure the minorities that they have nothing to fear. The reports which I have received indicate that this tour has had a most wholesome effect. This leads one to ask as to why does India not make similar efforts? These riots, even though they may be against poor and helpless Muslims, surely do no good to India internally or to her external standing.

I hope and pray that the new leadership in India will realize the gravity of allowing free play to communal passions. The minorities in both countries wish to live in peace with others. And we wish to live in peace with India. Any steps which the new leadership in India may take in this direction will find us willing to meet them more than halfway.

I would naturally discuss the Kashmir question with Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. To any impartial and fair-minded person it should be clear that the injustice done to the people of Jammu and Kashmir must be put right as soon as possible. The whole sub-continent was divided on certain principles. And there is no reason why a departure from these principles should be made in the case of Jammu and Kashmir. The price which India has already paid for retaining forcibly the State of Jammu and Kashmir is highly disproportionate to any advantage which she may have gained. And she will continue to pay such price unless she comes to terms with Pakistan. Already, the crushing Defence burden is leading to inflation, with all its evil consequences, in India. India can halve her Defence expenditure with one stroke if she were to settle the Kashmir dispute. What she is spending on Jammu and Kashmir is not only the fabulous sums provided for purchasing the goodwill of the people but also nearly Rs. 450 crores annually on the unnecessary doubling of her armed forces because of this dispute. There is nothing esoteric about these calculations and the people of India ought to know or be told the details of this unnecessary and wasteful expenditure leading to crushing burdens and avoidable suffering to themselves.

About matters at home, I am glad that during the present session of the National Assembly some very useful work has been done. The Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill was passed and this has made the constitutional position much tidier. As soon as the remaining laws relating to elections have also been passed, we will, *Insha-Allah*, be all set for the various elections during 1964-65.

The Budget passed by the National Assembly keeps up the development tempo in the country. It signifies a gigantic effort, considering the limitation of our resources. Already the country is beginning to reap some of the benefits of political and economic stability and the resulting progress in all spheres. We have to thank the Almighty for this happy turn in our situation. This repayment should be made in the form of constructive thought and hard work. To me the greatest prayer in Pakistan today is, work and yet hard work for the betterment of the nation and the country.

The National Assembly and other leaders of the nation in both the wings of the country have expressed themselves strongly against the U. S. arms aid to India. There was nothing but friendliness and goodwill for the United States in this country until she embarked on its present ill-advised policy of disregarding Pakistan's interests and jeopardizing her security for the sake of, what is called, U. S. global strategy.

The long-term massive arms aid to India may or may not lead to India acting as a counterpoise to China in Asia, but it certainly poses a grave threat to the security of the smaller nations on the periphery of India. Whom can they turn to, if the United States continues to follow its present policy? Apart from the military imbalance, look at the economic consequences of preparing India for war. Whether it is military conflict or economic chaos in this sub-continent, the cause to gain will not be that of the Western countries.

Before leaving, I discussed with the Governor of West Pakistan the measures which should be taken to render all help and relief to the victims of the recent calamity which befell the people of the Hyderabad Division. I leave in a state of anxiety and concern, but I am sure that the relief measures which we have discussed will be fully implemented and that the suffering of my poor countrymen will be removed to such extent as is humanly possible.

I wish you *Khuda Hafiz* and assure you that I shall represent the interests of this country faithfully whenever the occasion arises.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(*First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation*, *July* 1, 1964).

MESSAGE TO TURKISH PRESIDENT

Excellency, on leaving Turkey I wish to express to you my deep appreciation and gratitude for all the kindness and warm hospitality extended to me and to the members of my party during my visit to Ankara.

The identity of views so clearly reflected in our talks has served to underline the constructive and fruitful character of the association of our two fraternal peoples.

Much of the credit for this happy relationship is due, Mr. President, to your wisdom. May God grant you long life to serve the Turkish people and guide the Muslim peoples of this region.

I take this opportunity to express to you my warmest and sincere good wishes for your health and for the prosperity and happiness of your gallant people. Please convey my warmest regards to the Prime Minister, Mr. Ismet Inonu, and thank him for his deep appreciation of the vital problems of our region.

(Message to General Cemal Gursel, President of Turkey, from aircraft on leaving Turkey, July 5, 1964).

ESTABLISH MUSLIM NATIONALISM : ADVICE TO INTELLECTUALS

Mr. President,

I am grateful to you for having invited me to this function and I rightly feel honoured to be in such a company. You have also asked me to speak to you on matters of some interest to you.

I have always been feeling that there is considerable confusion in our thoughts and aims as regards our political objectives. That can be the only explanation why whereas the Hindu community, by and large, was united on the essentials of Hindu nationalism—I don't say they belonged to the same party— the Muslims were a divided community for the simple reason that they were not clear in their minds as to what should be their political aim. And I tell you that their political aim was, and still is, in Pakistan—the promotion of Muslim nationalism in the sub-continent ; and that of Muslim nationalism in order to produce a focus of power within an area where we are sovereign and where we can promote our ideology and develop our way of thinking and living.

Political Objectives

That is the reason why Muslims, not having been able to clearly define their political objective, were divided. Some worked for Pakistan; some saw their salvation in conjunction with the Hindu Congress ; others saw their salvation and the salvation of their community in a throw-back effort to a life of 1400 years and so on. And that is why we were divided.

I think the time has now come when we should clearly see our political requirements, define them and firmly hang on to them and then act in the light of them.

Muslim Nationalism

In simple terms, I will suggest that our objective is the establishment of Muslim nationalism.

There is a lesson that one learns from the history of the Muslims in this sub-continent, and that is this. As long as the Centre was powerful the Muslims led a respectable life and as soon as it was weakened the Muslims were disorganised and led a depraved life.

The focus of power and the Centre of Muslim power broke down in 1707 at the time of Aurangzeb. Some people called him bigoted, extremist, and so on—I would call him a conformist.

Hindu Nationalism

May be that it was a coincidence, or may be that it was due to his policy that Hindu nationalism took birth at that time. It took birth in the shape of Marhatta movement, in the shape of Sikh movement, and in the shape of Rajput movement. Those movements were directed against the Muslim central power.

The British appeared on the scene and gradually the Muslim power was broken and when the British left, the Muslims found themselves disorganised. Pakistan then came into being. Even today Muslims are suffering in India and we too have remained under pressure of India for the last 17 years. Unless the circumstances radically change within a foreseeable future we shall remain on mobilisation basis.

Leadership of Masses

There were thinking people amongst Muslims, who as early as two centuries ago, felt that the salvation of the Muslim community no longer lay in the hands of the top level of society. If they had any good in them the Muslim power would not have broken. They had lost the right to hold that power. Therefore, the salvation of the Muslims will have to come through the effort of the masses and awakening of the masses and the leadership of the masses.

That was the call of men like Shah Waliullah and his son and Sir Syed, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah. They were all

labelled as heretics. Orthodox people always use such weapons against thinking people, who produce new ideas. But they went on with their task and that objective is still with us.

Let us remember that a strong centre means a strong Pakistan. Strength of Pakistani Muslims would also enable them to give support to those who need succour and assistance.

The other necessity for establishing Muslim nationalism and producing a strong centre is that if we are strong in Pakistan we will be able to command respect of others. By our deeds and action we would be able to serve the cause of Islam better as well as that of Muslim community abroad.

In order to achieve this aim we have got to enter the new age fast. The vicissitudes of the history of past 200 years of the British rule have left us behind times.

Our need today is to enter this 20th century—the age of science and technology—so that we may gain necessary power as to be able to defend ourselves and to better our lives.

Today is really the struggle—the two-pronged struggle. This really is the aim of all the reforms that we have introduced. First of all, the aim is to remove, as far as possible, the social imbalances that have been created as a result of past history and, secondly, to prepare the people for a march forward in this scientific age while clinging tenaciously to our spiritual and moral heritage.

We are also not clear as to what our spiritual and moral heritage is?

Islamic Ideology

To me the ideology of Islam really means the establishment of generosity towards each other; establishment of the spirit of brotherhood and equality among mankind. That to me is the basis of Islam and from these concepts emerge all the spiritual and moral laws of our great religion.

While firmly standing by these basic aims, we must have the right to find our way and our salvation in accordance with the circumstances that confront us. In order to get rid of the stagnation we have got to apply our minds to the problems of life. And only then we can break away from our past stagnation and move on with the times. That is what I have been working for in my humble way.

What we need today is applied science. After we have gone beyond the stage of providing for our needs, we can think of other things also.

Similarly, I think your mental activities in other spheres of life should also be of a nature that produces a return for the community. It is your sacred duty to do so. I often think that charity and generosity which is enjoined on us by our religion is not necessarily limited to in giving away money or material things. If you are gifted by God with creative energies, you must also give to your community the benefit of your thoughts and your ideas.

My endeavour is to create a platform whereby our thinking should take a new and a fresh start—from whatever source it comes, it should be in conformity with our circumstances, needs and requirements. I hope we shall be able to establish a machinery to obtain ideas from you. I was told on one occasion that some of the ideas might be totally irrelevant ; I do not think that matters a bit. Even if one per cent ideas are workable, that is enough. You never know that a single idea might change the destiny of a nation. I hope you would be able to establish a system, a machinery whereby those ideas would be collected, sifted and acted upon.

Common Platform

Another task that I have been engaged on, in my own humble way, was to promote the conception that the Muslim community, especially in the regions around us, had a great opportunity today of establishing a common platform.

Asia today is divided into three mighty countries on one side and smaller countries on the other. If the larger countries have to expand, or have the urge to expand, they cannot expand in South America, they cannot expand in Europe ; they cannot expand in Australia, because those countries are held by white races, powerful and strong enough to defend themselves. They can only expand at the cost of smaller countries in Asia.

What then is the future of smaller countries in Asia except getting together on a common platform to be able to defend their freedom and to pool their resources to better their future. In that context I have been working with our friends—the Turks and the Iranians. I tried hard with the Arabs too so as to enable all of us to get to know each other and to produce that common front—common front for peace—not as a counter to anything else. I am very happy to tell you that we have eventually succeeded in getting three countries together—Pakistan, Iran and Turkey.

Happy Augury

Those of you who know these two countries, would agree with me that they are extremely proud people. They are people who have great suspicion of outsiders. They have come and joined us in this common venture because of our mutual contact over a decade or so. It has developed to such an extent that we have complete faith and trust in each other. It is because of our relationship being absolutely honest and sincere and based on realism. I think that is a very happy augury. When you see with your mind's eye the past history—the history of about four to five hundred years ago—you would find that Babar was fighting the Iranians and the Turks were fighting the Iranians. In this region if cohesion was established then, as we have done now, the history of world might have been different.

Common Desire

Nevertheless, it is never too late ; never too late to conform to the dictates of history and I hope that you surely recognise that the present collaboration among the three countries is a great historical event. It does not mean that we have solved all our problems but it does mean that we have made a good beginning. We, in Pakistan, are determined to play our part and give all possible assistance to promote this great concept.

Another thing that I did, and I also noticed it in Iran and Turkey, was that this concept of getting together was not only confined to the governmental agencies but was the universal desire of the common people all over those countries.

It certainly is the desire of the people of Pakistan. I was able to talk with great confidence with our brethren in Iran and Turkey.

The Leader of the Turkish Opposition party assured me that he supported the programme although it had not yet been announced and he had only a general idea of what was going on. The advocates of the present Government were of the view that the Opposition had to favour the idea for fear of public resentment. It is indeed the genuine and earnest desire of the people. By this alliance, I believe a great service to Islam has been rendered.

Let me sum up: Let us be quite clear in our political and ideological objectives ; let us be quite clear in our intellectual aim to enter this new era ; and let us be clear about promoting the interests of Islam

by strengthening ourselves and by offering whatever help we can to our brethren. In this great venture all of you have a role to play, and if you play it well, God will bless you and the future generation will bless you too.

(Speech at the Arts Council of Pakistan, Karachi, July 25, 1964).

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen: Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I spent the best part of the last month abroad, going through a strenuous programme, during the course of which I visited Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and Ireland and participated in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London.

The earlier Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in 1962 was concerned mainly with the question of Great Britain's entry into the European Common Market. Not unnaturally, the developing countries of the Commonwealth viewed the prospects of Britain joining the European Trading Community with considerable concern and anxiety about their own trading prospects. I sounded a note of warning at that time that the European Common Market, with its inward looking policies and operating behind solid tariff walls, will grow into a massive cartel. And for Commonwealth countries, like ours, Britain's association with such an organisation, would have meant not only a reversal of certain traditional tariff arrangements, but also a sudden and radical departure from existing trading patterns.

As a member of the European Common Market, Britain would have been compelled to deny our exports all such tariff preferences as they enjoy under the Pakistan-United Kingdom Trade Agreement of 1951. In addition, Pakistan's exports would have been subjected to the oppressive common external tariff of the European Common Market, apart from having to compete, under severe quantitative restrictions, with goods enjoying preferential tariff and imported by the community from the States associated with the European Common Market.

The danger was fortunately averted, but the economic problems of the developing countries, which are largely, if not entirely, due to the existing international trading patterns, remain to be resolved. How should these countries avoid any further deterioration in their balance of payments position? How should they evolve a self-sustaining economy and develop a self-generating pattern of growth? Was the answer to be found in the field of foreign assistance or in the adoption of a more rational and equitable basis of trade?

These were some of the questions which came up for consideration during the Prime Ministers' Conference held this year. We discussed, in detail, the type of assistance which well-to-do countries of the Commonwealth could give to the developing countries. The assistance offered was mostly in the realm of technical, administrative and other types of training facilities. These offers were good as far as they went. But I made it clear that countries like Pakistan had, by the grace of God, moved to a higher stage of development, where they required not training facilities but larger resources, on easy terms and untied, to meet their growing capacity for absorption. This need was recognised but the difficulty is that at the moment Great Britain is the only capital exporting country in the Commonwealth and, apart from heavy calls on its resources, it is faced with the problem of adverse balance of payments.

The resources required by us could thus become available mostly through greater trade on a more equitable basis. The way to help developing countries is to lower the tariff barriers and provide an expanding market for simpler manufactures and less sophisticated goods produced by them. This, supplemented by untied credits and loans on easy terms, could be of real assistance to the developing countries. Without their welfare and progress even the developed countries could have no real peace. For peace has now come to depend upon the material and moral well-being of mankind *as a whole*.

Recently, a world trade conference was held in Geneva to determine trade relations between the developed and the developing countries. Nothing concrete has yet emerged. My own feeling is that whereas we may get some easements in respect of loans and credits, we are unlikely to find willing reception to our finished goods in the markets of the developed countries. We in Pakistan would, therefore, be well advised to address ourselves seriously to the urgent task of exploring new markets and expanding our trade in all practical directions, guided solely by the economic interests of our country.

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference considered certain other important problems, like the future of Cyprus, the unfortunate and dangerous position of the Turkish minority and the future of Southern Rhodesia and British Guiana. In all these matters our voice was always raised in support of justice and fairplay and we pressed for solutions that should bring peace and happiness to the suffering humanity in these areas.

There are more trouble spots in Asia these days than in any other continent. There are serious conflicts of interest between the U.S.A. and China (with regard to Viet-Nam, Laos and Taiwan), between India and China, between India and Pakistan, and between Indonesia and Malaysia. Any one of these conflicts can lead to a major war. It is, therefore, incumbent on those who exercise authority or power in these regions not to aggravate the situation but to seek the path of conciliation and peace and to resolve their differences. The consequences of a major war would be far more serious than a concession here or there. Even the cold war, where there is no shooting going on, is adding to the miseries and sufferings of countless millions.

During the course of Commonwealth discussions, the dispute between Pakistan and India over Kashmir also came up as an element which could set off a major struggle in Asia. It was very satisfying to note that all the Heads of States or of Governments attending the Conference expressed a sincere and genuine desire that India and Pakistan settle this dispute in a spirit of amity and goodwill for their mutual benefit.

In this Conference, which represented nearly one-fourth of humanity, leaders of 18 Commonwealth countries were present, 4 were of European origin, 3 from Asia, 2 from the Carribean Islands and the rest from Africa. It was a pleasant experience to note that everyone of them, whilst holding strong views on certain matters, conducted himself with dignity, poise and maturity. In spite of differences of colour, race and national interests, the Conference provided a profitable forum for a free and frank exchange of views and a meeting of hearts. A concrete step was taken in the decision to set up a secretariat of the Commonwealth Conference which can be of considerable value in promoting the objectives of the Conference.

In Afghanistan, I had a frank discussion with His Majesty the King and his advisors. I hope that it led to a better mutual understanding. And I pray that it will help to revive the old bonds of friendship and

brotherhood between Afghanistan and Pakistan and pave the way for closer collaboration.

A happy illustration of this has been the recent formation of a common platform by Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. It had for long been my desire to bring about community of thought and action among countries of this region with whom we have bonds of brotherhood and common history. It is very gratifying that we have been able to initiate an arrangement of a far-reaching nature, details of which have already been published and explained.

To my mind this is an event of great significance, and a unique example of trust and friendship amongst the people of this region, and expecially among the Muslims.

In entering this arrangement not only have we promoted the interests of our respective countries, but, I believe, we have promoted the interests of Islam, and have set an example for others to follow. But I must strike a note of warning that this is only a beginning and a good deal will depend on the manner in which we work out the details of the programme and the spirit in which we proceed to implement them. My advice to those concerned with these problems from Pakistan is that whenever in doubt act with generosity, accommodation and large-heartedness.

The role of Pakistan in world affairs is based on our attitude towards life. The basic tenets of our policy are that we want peaceful relations with all, and we will offer our assistance to any other country seeking it for peace and the welfare of mankind. Others will find us frank and honest in our dealings with them. An undertaking, once given, shall be honoured, whatever the cost. Pakistan expects the same from others.

I had hoped to meet the new Prime Minister of India, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. This did not come about because of his sudden and unfortunate illness. We wish his early recovery to full health. From his statements, as also from a communication which I received from him, I gather that he is conscious of the need for better relations between India and Pakistan.

Other Indian leaders have also expressed their desire to see the two countries live on better terms. This, I have always maintained, is the only future for the two countries. We shall not be found wanting in meeting India halfway. What we hope for is a genuine change of heart on the part of India and a desire to live with us as good neighbours.

The *sine qua non* of this is an honourable and just solution of the Kashmir dispute enabling the disengagement of the two armies, and humane treatment of the minorities. There is a proposal for the Home Ministers of the two countries to meet later in this month. We hope that some tangible results will come out of this meeting. But nothing fruitful can happen unless organized barbarities by government agencies of the Indian States of Assam, Tripura and of West Bengal stop against the helpless Muslim minority.

I am unhappy to note that shooting incidents on the Cease-fire Line have grown in number and seriousness. They do no good to either side. Defenceless civilians who are Muslims and even dumb animals have been shot at and killed. The sooner these puerile incidents cease the better.

All through my tour I was sustained by the affection and support of my people, and God in His infinite mercy, has blessed with success, my efforts to serve and strengthen Pakistan's cause. May He continue to protect and guide us. *Ameen.*

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation, August 1, 1964).

UNITE TO PRESERVE INDEPENDENCE : CALL TO THE PEOPLE

Dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I thank the people of Dacca, particularly the workers and all those who have come from far off places, for the rousing welcome they have accorded to me at this place.

I have said several times before and I think there is no harm if I repeat again that Dacca is a very important historic centre of the Muslims of the sub-continent. It was here at Dacca where the Muslims gathered together and realised that after the British rulers were ousted, they would be faced with another, rather a very strong type of imperialism, at the hands of the Hindus. It was this political awakening of the Muslims which brought into existence, in 1906, a political organisation. The then Nawab of Dacca, Nawab Salimullah, collected a batch of prominent Muslims and laid the foundations of this organisation. These leaders were of the view that in order to safeguard their rights, they must have a political organisation of their own.

As fifty long years have now passed since the establishment of this organisation, it has only recently been decided that its "Golden Jubilee" should be celebrated in Dacca, the city of its birth. God willing, by the end of this year, workers from all over the country would collect at Dacca for this purpose and would exchange views in respect of various matters relating to the well-being of the people.

In my opinion, political differences which existed among the Muslims before the attainment of Independence were the result of inaccurate judgement of the political trends in the sub-continent by certain sections of our people.

Separate Homeland

Some were of the view that the Muslims must have their own separate homeland where they could preach Islamic faith and ideology independently. This State, later on, came into being and today its name is Pakistan. Others believed that it was beneficial to join the Hindus. These people did not even think that the Muslim faith had nothing in common with that of the Hindus and it was well-nigh impossible to create 'one nation'. These have been our basic differences although we are all brethren, having one God. We are far from the Hindu mythology. We should practise Islamic socialism. And these two philosophies cannot become one under any circumstances.

It is a pity that the Muslims of the sub-continent did not have unity of thought and whenever they talked of Muslims or about their future, they always forgot that the philosophy of Islam was aimed at the welfare of the entire human race and that all Muslims were to be benefited by it equally.

It is your foremost duty to put your internal affairs in order. As a nation we have many responsibilities and as such it is very necessary to strengthen ourselves and to remove all our weaknesses. Our betterment lies only in Islamic nationalism which we should promote at all costs. We must have a strong Centre without which we can never have unity of thought. It is also necessary that we should love our country, a place where we live and which provides livelihood to us.

One Philosophy

We have one more problem. We do not have one homogenous unit. We do not have one language. But we do have one philosophy. There is still time to understand all these complications.

There are people who raise slogans of parochialism and regional affiliations. They are the people who are exploiting the unsophisticated people for their own interests and personal gain.

I pray to God that such people should have sympathy for their brethren and instead of exploiting them, they should sow the seeds of love and unity among them.

No nation can develop if the people, instead of working for the good and welfare of the community, continue to preach such politics which creates differences among the Bengalis, Punjabis, Pathans, etc.

If we make a minute study of the Holy Quran, we come to the conclusion that God never helps those who do not help themselves and those

nations which are divided can never prosper. If we do not practise unity of thought and zealously safeguard the independence which we have got after the enslavement of 200 years, we will be nowhere. We can build the nation and the country only if we do not allow self interest and personal gain to dominate.

Development projects are being carried out in the country on a very large scale and rapid strides are being made in every sphere of life. I think every Pakistani today is better off than what he was five years ago. I appeal to you to understand all these things. Free people cannot progress and we cannot work democracy unless we know these basic things.

National Unity

I am always endeavouring to bring unity to the nation. I wish that our country should get stronger and stronger. We should develop our education and raise the percentage of literacy so that in this fast-moving 20th century we should be able to pace along with the advanced nations of the world. This can be achieved only if we work hard continuously, patriotically and selflessly. It is your bounden duty to preach Islamic nationalism.

Those who preach separatist tendencies are not the friends of the country.

We want to live as friends with every country, especially our neighbours. We follow the policy of friendship with all and malice against none. We want to remain peaceful. We have no expansionist designs and would never allow anybody to step on our soil.

India has hurled atrocities on the Indian Muslims and they are still being subjected to innumerable sufferings. We want that this should stop and the Indian Muslims should remain peacefully in their own country.

We have always been trying to remain in peace with India. Time will come when the people of India would realise that they are undergoing a heavy loss by not being our friends.

I think they would do a great service to their country if they realised this.

Istanbul Pact

You have made a reference to Istanbul pact. This is a great gift from God as nobody could ever think of such arrangement two or three

months back. We have not entered into a pact with Iran and Turkey with any motives. We want only a hand of friendship and we have complete faith in each other. Not only the Governments of these countries but the people have also the same views and I am sure the people of Pakistan also reciprocate.

You would, however, agree that the confidence they have reposed in us is because of our own capability to work the affairs of the country. No one ever strives to board a sinking boat. Now we have a great responsibility and our future depends on how we discharge our duties towards common cause.

You must know that the politics being practised before the achievement of Pakistan have now faded out. At that time we were engaged in throwing out alien rulers but now we have a free and independent country of our own. The task before us today is to build this country. We should not waste our time in petty differences. Through the grace of God we are on road to progress and it should be an endeavour of us all to make the country strong. We must unite and preserve our independence. At the same time we should be able to help others.

(*Speech at Ramna Green, Dacca, August 26, 1964*).

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

Last month marked the seventeenth anniversary of our Independence. People celebrated the occasion with great joy and enthusiasm throughout the country. They recalled with gratitude and respect the memory of Quaid-i-Azam, who carved out of the sub-continent a homeland for the Muslims through the passion of his conviction and the relentless force of his determination. For us the Quaid-i-Azam has left an example of abiding inspiration to bend our energies to developing Pakistan into a truly progressive, stable and prosperous nation.

In my last message on Independence Day, I urged you all to rededicate yourself to the task of nation-building. I hope each one of you have had time to reflect on this and have thought of some way to make your contribution.

Islamic Nationalism

True independence means participation of the people in the affairs of the State and their involvement in the endeavours of the community. It is through such participation that the individual develops deep attachment and love for the soil that nurtured him. This devotion to the country, combined with faith in Islamic principles, forms the basis of my concept of Islamic Nationalism. It is this concept which we should develop in order to build up a strong base for ourselves from where we should be able to extend assistance to others with whom we

have common cultural, historical and ideological ties. I am getting more and more convinced that the maximum association of the people with the objectives and policies of the State can be secured through the growth of Islamic Nationalism.

The modes of participation of the people in the affairs of their country vary from nation to nation. There are some among us who feel that all we have to do is to adopt some model, which has served the purpose in some country, and thereby bring about 'instant' participation of the people in the affairs of the country. Attractive as this formula might appear it has no validity in real life. There are no short-cuts to progress and others cannot solve your problems for you. No one denies the benefits which can be derived from a study of the political history and experience of other countries but such study cannot be a substitute for solving our problems in the light of our own requirements.

Self-Reliance

The history of emerging societies provides unmistakable evidence that a real break-through was achieved only when people learnt to rely on themselves and decided to work out their salvation according to their own ideology and conditions. So long as people remain content with imitation they must also be content with lagging behind others. It is only when they expose themselves to the rigours of creative and original thinking that they evolve political and social institutions capable of responding to the challenge of growth.

I am afraid we have allowed our minds to be enslaved by foreign ideas and alien maxims for too long. The task today is to recreate pride in ourselves, and to formulate a new approach towards our problems. The most critical being the problem of shedding the lethargy of traditional attitudes, without compromising our ideological identity, and moving with this age of science and technology.

Balanced Growth

By the grace of God we have been able to organise our resources and energies into a massive development effort which is aimed at bringing about a steady improvement in our standard of living. We have been able to identify areas where relatively greater investment in terms of resources as well as human effort has to be made to evolve a balanced

pattern of growth for the country as a whole. Throughout the countryside past signs of neglect are being quickly wiped out and signs of prosperity are becoming visible.

Those who say that economic development is not enough betray cruel and tragic ignorance of the state of poverty and disease in which large masses of our people were living a few years ago. The first priority in my mind was to help this mass of suffering people by providing them with basic necessities such as food, clothes and shelter, so that they too should be able to feel that they were citizens of an independent and free country.

The nation owes a debt of gratitude to the members of the National Assembly who have cleared the way for the holding of the first general elections in the country on schedule. In the last session the Assembly passed the bills relating to elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies and to the office of the President.

Elections

The forthcoming elections symbolise a great opportunity and a great challenge. For the first time after Independence the adult population throughout the country will have a chance to elect their representatives who will be entrusted with the task of running the country in accordance with the Constitution. It is now for them to utilize this opportunity in the best possible manner. The type of persons who are elected will determine the course of our development. In making their choice the supreme consideration before the people should be the unity and progress of the country.

Many slogans will be raised in the coming days and many promises made. My advice to you all is not to be swayed by slogans or duped by false hopes. In our conditions it is not difficult to provoke and excite people by appealing to their emotions. There will be those who will approach you on parochial or sectarian grounds. They will be opening windows of hatred through which will blow the hot air of malice and distrust. Keep these windows barred and wall them with love for your brethren, whatever the geographical distance which separates you. Others will magnify your personal frustrations into national problems. Do not allow yourselves to be exploited by these false benefactors. I would advise you to carefully examine the merits of these people in the light of their past conduct. Let your own judge-

ment, experience and reason be your guide. My appeal to you would be not to let yourself become a party to any move which will create divisions and dissensions.

Responsibility of Voters

A great responsibility also rests on that section of the population which is blessed with education. Normally members of this community conduct themselves as silent spectators while demagogues and professionals parade themselves as guides and philosophers. Few of them register themselves as voters and fewer still take the trouble of going to the polls. It is a strange phenomenon that people who talk most about the right of vote hardly ever exercise this right. I hope and trust that in the forthcoming elections sensible and educated people will exercise a sobering influence on the course of elections and give a lead to the people on patriotic and national lines.

During the last few days I visited the areas affected by recent floods in East Pakistan. It grieves my heart that year after year this menace of floods wipes away part of the results of our hard efforts. My heart goes out to those thousands of people who have suffered because of this tragic recurrence of floods. The Administration has not spared any effort to give them whatever assistance was humanly possible. These efforts will have to be sustained for a long time to rehabilitate the area after the water recedes. People displayed examplary courage and fortitude during these terrible days. I pray to God that their sufferings may soon end. Government is engaged in devising and implementing effective measures for the control of floods in East Pakistan. A team of Consultants is at work and will be finalising its report within the next few weeks. The river waters will have to be harnessed and the rivers trained so that they become a source of benefit and cease to be a source of danger. In this task we may have to seek the co-operation of India. The Indian Union has the same problems and exchange of technical data and plans would help Administrations on both sides to control the floods. I hope it will be possible to come to some reasonable arrangement with India.

Kashmir Problem

I hope that the relations between our two countries will improve and things will start moving in the right direction. The Kashmir prob-

lem awaits a fair and honourable settlement. Once this has been resolved it should be possible to usher in an era of mutual collaboration, assistance and friendship. This will prove of immense benefit to people on both sides, particularly to our neighbours in India, who are being unnecessarily subjected to the consequences of an expensive and wasteful confrontation. I have no doubt in my mind that people in both the countries eagerly await the dawn of such an era.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation, September 1, 1964).

WORK FOR STABILITY AND PROGRESS OF PAKISTAN : ADVICE TO TRIBAL CHIEFS

It is a matter of pleasure to me that this Darbar thas afforded me an opportunity to meet you and to listen to your views and to express my own ideas. I am indeed grateful to you for the kind sentiments you have expressed about me. I thank Allah who has granted me an opportunity to serve the country and the nation.

I thank Almighty Allah, who knowing my intentions and aspirations, has in His mercy, given me an opportunity to serve the nation and the country and provided me with strength and succour.

People's Co-operation

I am also happy that my people have appreciated my services. I shall be happier still if the people extended to me greater co-operation in my work. The sole aim of my life is to make Pakistan strong and respected, to make the people of Pakistan prosperous and to defend the country against internal and external dangers. In calling upon the people to lend me their helping hand, I have no selfish motives.

Quranic Injunction

It is a matter of gratification that our people are good hearted and God-fearing, and a majority of them have recognised my services. I hope and pray that the few who are not kindly disposed towards me will also help me in the greater interest of the country and the nation.

The Holy Quran enjoins on the faithful to co-operate with each other in good cause and not to weaken themselves by internecine bickerings.

You have referred to the growing stock and prestige of the country. If you think of it, it is due to the stability that the country achieved in the last six years. As a result of this not only the financial and economic position of the country has become stronger by the grace of God, but political stability has also enhanced the country's prestige abroad. In the past when Ministries changed in quick succession, after almost every six months, people abroad ridiculed and looked down upon us. Today they look at us with regard and respect. God willing our stock will continue to rise provided we do not repeat mistakes which, during the period 1951-1958, ruled out political and economic stability. The worst of it all was that the nation had then started looking at its future with dismay. Only those people who have confidence in themselves and their future can truly make sacrifices for the national cause. Frustration strikes at the very vitals of the nation.

National Well-being

By the grace of Allah, things are now improving and, therefore, there is no ground for despondency. With greater enthusiasm and sincerity we should redouble our efforts for national weal. You as Chiefs of your tribes, are in a particularly happy position to do very useful work. You will set an example for your tribes to follow. Yo have a heavy responsibility to shoulder. If you discharge this responsibility properly, the country and the nation will be proud of you. You will also deserve rich reward from Allah. It is the duty of each one of you to create in your areas a true and sincere urge for the security, stability and well-being of Pakistan. You should dispense even-handed justice among your people. But the elements who indulge in crime or engage themselves in anti-Pakistan activities deserve no quarters and it is your duty to scotch them.

It is in the national interest and in the interest of Pakistan's unity, strength and stability that you eschew tribal feuds and sink personal differences, and thus help build up Pakistan. Pakistan's prestige abroad depends on its internal stability. If everyone of us keeps this in view, Pakistan will, *Insha-Allah*, carve out for itself an enviable position in the comity of nations and also benefit materially.

You have, in your address of welcome, referred to certain local problems. I appreciate them. Fortunately, the Governor of West

Pakistan happens to be among us today. I am sure he will give due consideration to your problems. It is my earnest desire that this region should progress rapidly. From the very beginning, I have been giving directions for preparing development schemes for these areas and for allocations of funds to implement them. I am very happy that you value the development work so far done in the region and I am sure this will pay you dividends. Thanks.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(*Address at Tribal Darbar*, *Quetta*, *September* 10, 1964).

TRIBUTE TO THE QUAID-I-AZAM

Sixteen years ago today death stole from us the founder Father of the Nation (Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah) whose indomitable will and selfless devotion made the vision of a separate homeland for the Muslims of this region into the reality of Pakistan. The most reverent homage is due to his memory. And this we can pay only by re-dedicating ourselves individually to the strengthening and stability of Pakistan.

The future holds hope and promise for us if we continue to build and advance with "Unity, Faith and Discipline".

(Message to the Nation on the eve of Sixteenth Death Anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam, September 10, 1964).

PROGRESS OF MINING INDUSRTY : VITAL FOR PAKISTAN'S ECONOMY

It gives me a great pleasure to perform the opening ceremony of the Ghazij Tunnel of Sore Range Collieries today. This marks a step forward in the progress of mining industry of Pakistan and the completion of an important promotional project of the West Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation.

Coal has a very important role to play in fuel economy of Pakistan. The lack of proper exploitation of coal potential of the country had compelled us to depend mostly on imports to meet our requirements. During the Third Plan period we are aiming at doubling the production of coal in West Pakistan, in addition to paying special attention to the exploitation of the recent finds of coal in East Pakistan which are now in the proving stage.

Mining Industry

So far the coal mining industry was adopting antiquated and unscientific methods for exploiting the existing resources. In order that the coal mines are developed on a more scientific basis, the former Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation was called upon to take over three coal mining areas of Quetta and Kalat Divisions, namely, Central Block Sore Range, Degari Mines and Sharigh Mines. The construction of Ghazij Tunnel marks the completion of the first phase of development of these coal mines. I hope that it will serve as an example to the private miners for developing mining industry on a more productive and rational basis. We are thankful to the German Advisors who have rendered very useful service in this project, and to the Federal Republic of Germany for her generous assistance.

Removal of Economic Disparity

It is the policy of my Government to remove economic disparity

within various regions of the country as fast as we can. In pursuance of this policy the developmental activities of the country are being dispersed and more attention is being paid to the progress of less developed regions. The present project will go a long way towards promoting economic development of Quetta and Kalat Divisions, a remote and comparatively under-developed region of the country.

Local Talent

It is good to know that the West Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation is endeavouring to employ and train local talent as far as possible. We have a great human potential in the people of this region and it is my conviction that if proper opportunities are provided to them they will prove equal to the task. I am happy to note that the West Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation has appreciated the hard and sustained work done by the workers and the staff of these mines and, in recognition, decided to give them bonus equal to one month's salary.

Harnessing of Natural Resources

In this fast moving world we have to evolve and adopt methods and practices which can put our natural resources to the most effective use. The coal which has so far been found in Pakistan is not generally of the quality that can be adequately put to conventional uses. I am, therefore, glad to learn that in order to utilise Sore Range and Degari Mines' coal properly, the West Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation is considering setting up of a low temperature coal carbonisation and briquetting plant at Quetta. The natural gas and the electric power industries have made great strides, not only in providing necessary fuel for development of our projects, but also in opening fresh avenues for setting up new industries. I expect that scientific exploitation of coal would make an effective contribution to the availability of fuel at competitive prices, besides promoting development of other industries based on coal bye-products.

I thank you for the replica of Miners' Stick which you have given me. And I would be glad to consider myself, as suggested by you, the Patron-in-Chief of the Miners. I assure you that the welfare and well-being of the people engaged in this noble profession will always remain close to my heart. Pakistan Zindabad.

(English translation of the speech on the occasion of opening ceremony of Ghazij Tunnel of Sore Range Collieries, Quetta, September 13, 1964).

QUETTA THERMAL POWER STATION : TO BRING PROSPERITY TO THE PEOPLE

I am happy to be here to inaugurate the Quetta Thermal Power Station. May it have a long and useful life in the service of the people of this region.

The importance of power in a developing economy needs hardly any emphasis. Its availability and rate of consumption constitute a universally recognised index of economic progress and prosperity of a country.

The supply of adequate power at reasonable prices is a prerequisite to any programme for the accelerated development of economy of an area—especially an undeveloped one.

Uses of Power

The power is an important infrastructure for development of industry, exploitation of mineral resources, expansion of agriculture, including irrigation, besides its consumption for domestic purposes Quetta region is fortunately blessed with an excellent climate and soil suited for growing of fruits and nuts. Scarcity of water has, however, been a limiting factor. Answer to this problem may be in tapping underground water reserves on which increasing attention is being focussed by the Government. This region is also rich in mineral resources like coal, chromite etc., economic exploitation of which has been handicapped hitherto for want of adequate power. The Thermal Power Station, which is being inaugurated today, will go a long way to meeting these long-felt needs. From now on, this Station will supply power for lighting and warming up homes, development of industry, mechanisation of collieries and exploitation of mineral wealth.

My Government is wedded to the policy of early removal of economic disparities in various regions of the country. This project is a step in that direction by way of improving the living standards of the people of Quetta and Kalat Divisions, along with the rest of the Frontier belt. For the first time the people of this region would enjoy the benefit of power supply at considerably reduced rates. Lower tariff has been made possible by an unified approach to development—a natural corollary to administrative integration.

Power Commission

It was with the intention of formulating sound policies for development of power in the country that my Government set up a Power Commission. One of the important tasks assigned to it was to suggest measures for rationalisation of electricity tariff with special reference to the needs of under-developed areas. The Commission has already submitted its report which is receiving close and urgent consideration of the Government.

W. P. WAPDA

The Water and Power Development Authority of West Pakistan has been entrusted with a role which will reshape the economy of the country. I am glad to note that Authority has been discharging this heavy responsibility in a creditable manner. I am also pleased to know that this Power Station will use indigenous coal. This is as it should be.

I appreciate the generous assistance given by the Agency for International Development of the United States of America which has made it possible for the Government to launch this scheme and bring it to fruition. The power facilities are now being made available and it will be for the people to make the best use of them to make themselves, as well as this country, happy and prosperous. The people of this area are hard working who have so far toiled under primitive conditions. Provision of electric power ought to accelerate their progress and facilitate their achievement of a healthy and prosperous future.

Mr. Chairman, I accept with thanks the fine replica of Power House you have presented me.

With these words, I have great pleasure in switching on this Thermal Power Station.

(Speech on the occasion of inauguration of the Quetta Thermal Power Station, Sheikhmanda, September 13, 1964).

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen: Assalam-o-Alaikum.

In September, the event of gravest import to us was the announcement of large scale arms aid by Soviet Russia to India. This came on top of the massive arms aid pledged earlier by the Western Powers to India. Her dispute with China, purely a border one, is the excuse for this extensive aid by the mightiest powers of the earth.

It should be clear even to a non-military person that no large scale action is possible through the tremendous heights of the Himalayas which are snow-bound for most of the year. That China did not want to extend the border skirmish was evident when she withdrew her forces after the victory, and asked for negotiations.

We are told it was because of the fear of Western intervention. If so, that fear will always remain. And there was no need to arm India to her teeth, a crushing burden of which will either make India bust or burst forth.

India and China

India will never take on China, a bigger power. She is shrewd enough not to allow her foreign relations to be determined by others. She was also shrewd enough to see the possibilities of exploiting the border dispute with China, which has, therefore, been kept on the peg to dangle before those interested in ranging India against China. The

facility with which India can turn right or left to secure military hardware shows that she has succeeded well in her purpose.

In her economic distress, what India needed was economic aid and the reduction of defence expenditure. But she has chosen preparations for war, and the question is against whom? We are convinced that it will not be against China, whatever the baiting.

Security of Pakistan

Since India unfortunately considers us to be her worst enemy, we have to think of our security in the face of the growing might of our neighbour who has shown no practical indication of coming to terms with us. The Kashmir dispute continues, inspite of the repeated attempts at solution by the Security Council and others. The eviction of Indian Muslims continues. The incidents on the Cease-fire Line have gone from bad to worse.

We have been patient and forbearing, and we will continue to be so, if we can help it. I, therefore, very much hope that the forthcoming meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Pakistan and India will tackle these problems in a forthright and practical manner. Good sense ought to tell both parties that it is in our mutual interest to be friends and good neighbours. The resulting advantages would far outweigh the dubious gains of the present tension.

It is futile to hope that the lapse of time will make us and the Kashmiri people reconciled to the Indian occupation of Jammu and Kashmir. The events following the Hazratbal incident would show that the Kashmiris are more alive to their right of self-determination now than ever before.

Puppets in Kashmir

The appointment of puppets to have a facade of Local Self-Government has not succeeded from the point of view of India or that of the Kashmiris. The fate of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad would discourage any ambitious adventurer. It would put new heart into the struggle for self-determination.

So far as we are concerned, we will never be reconciled to the forcible occupation of Jammu and Kashmir in defiance of the solemn

pledges given to us and the people of the State. Right shall *Insha-Allah* prevail over might.

In the face of the threat to our security posed by the growing might of India, we must rely on God and our own internal strength. We must stand united and sink our internal differences. Political and economic stability and strong and purposeful leadership is the need of the hour.

Having normalised our relations with our great neighbour, China, we also seek to normalise our relations with our other great neighbour, Russia. This is, however, dependent on whether Russia will continue to arm India against us or not.

We ourselves had a welcome visitor in President Ahmad Soekarno of Indonesia. The talks I have had with him were of great value. His offer to consider economic and social arrangements with us on the lines of the Regional Co-operation for Development between Pakistan, Iran and Turkey is a happy augury for the well-being and progress of our people. President Soekarno's agreement to seek a peaceful settlement of his dispute with Malaysia is also most heartening. The response from Prime Minister Tunku Abdur Rahman of Malaysia is also a fine gesture of statesmanship. I earnestly hope and pray that this move will succeed.

R. C. D.

Good progress has been made at Teheran with the implementation of the Regional Co-operation for Development. The first stage of our getting together in economic and social fields has been defined and awaits approval of the Council of Ministers which will meet shortly. I am sure that, as we get closer, new vistas of mutual co-operation will open. That will be a blessing for the 150 million people of our three countries.

At home, the country will soon be in the thick of the first general elections, under the new Constitution. Every adult, male or female, except the insane, will be entitled to vote. The people will be asked to elect their representatives to the Basic Democracies, concerned with their daily lives, and later these elected representatives will elect the President of Pakistan and the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies.

Elections to BDs

Momentous decisions therefore face the nation. I attach the highest importance to the elections to the Basic Democracies. These bodies, easily accessible to all of you, have been entrusted with duties and powers which affect your daily life. And I envisage, in course of time, more duties and powers for these elected representatives of the people in matters that affect the daily life of the common man. This is a unique experiment in taking democracy to the village and *mohalla*, in associating the elected representatives of the people with the day-to-day functioning of the Government, in mobilising the nation at large for the development and all-round progress of the country. Moreover, these elected representatives of the people will be asked to elect the President of Pakistan and the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies.

It is, therefore, of vital importance that you elect people who are likely to serve you best in your daily lives, people who are patriotic and who will wisely elect your representatives to the legislatures and to-the responsible office of the Head of the State. The country is passing through a critical state of her economic and social development. And we face grave threats to our security from outside. The need of the hour is a cool head and not emotionalism.

Third Five-Year Plan

Apart from the elections, I should like to draw your attention to the outline of the Third Five-Year Plan recently approved by the National Economic Council. This outline describes the basic philosophy of the socio-economic development of our country and states the main objectives of the Plan and its size. It estimates the human and material resources that will be needed for a plan of that size and where and how they can be obtained. It indicates which works and investments should be public and which private. It proposes how much money should be spent in each province and how much should be spent on agriculture, industry, education, health, social welfare and so on.

In short, the outline seeks to point out the direction in which we should grow and develop and to spell out the effort we should make and the means we should adopt to move in that direction.

I have had the document published with the sole object of inviting consideration by the knowledgeable members of the public who are

in a position to offer their comment and advice. I hope they will take interest in it because the future well-being and progress of our country depends on this Plan. We have by the grace of God moved forward already, with the political and economic stability and progress of the last few years, and the next five years will be crucial to our future. The outcome will depend on the effort put in by us individually and collectively. I hope and pray that we, one and all, will realize this and rise to the occasion. *Ameen.*

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation, October 1, 1964).

UNIVERSAL CHILDREN'S DAY MESSAGE

Pakistan is once again celebrating the Universal Children's Day this year throughout the country. The theme for this year is "Preparing children and their families for changing social patterns" which is a matter of vital interest to the parents as well as the teachers.

I am pleased to note that Child Welfare Training Institutes have been established in Lahore and Dacca with the assistance of the UNICEF. In addition, the Central Government and the Provincial Governments have been providing financial assistance to child welfare programmes through grants-in-aid and will continue to give such support.

The Pakistan Council for Child Welfare has generated a keen interest amongst our children by organising periodical exhibitions of their paintings and handiwork. In order to encourage better standards and higher ideals amongst children, I instituted, some time ago, three awards for the best child writer and artist and for spontaneous act of courage and service, which are being announced separately today.

I trust that as usual the Universal Children's Day will be observed in our country in a befitting manner. I wish the Pakistan Council for Child Welfare all success in its activities.

(Message on the eve of Universal Children's Day, October 4, 1964).

TRUE PROGRESS THROUGH ORIGINAL THINKING : ADVICE TO INTELLECTUALS

Before I start with my speech may I say how glad I am to be in such a distinguished company. I did not know the existence of this Forum before. I am very glad that such a Forum has been formed and I hope such forums will be formed all over Pakistan in order that matters of national and international importance are discussed, and people in Pakistan have knowledgeable and purposeful opinion about these matters. It also helps stability if such discussions are held and people of all shades of opinion are brought on a common platform to discuss things freely in order to have their feet on the ground. Today's time is a different time : today's world is a dangerous world, but we have to live in it, and in order to be able to live in it, the best thing that can give us surest guidance is our knowledge, sound knowledge, knowledge of hard facts of life so that our approach is sensible and our actions are fruitful of results.

My talk will be divided into three parts : first of all, a little comment on the discussion that took place during the Forum—this TV interview—and the other would be about the role of the Opposition in Pakistan, because the question there remained unanswered in a way. Then something to do with the Istanbul agreement, and then a brief resume, of what transpired at the Prime Minister's Conference. Then I will touch upon our relationship with India, and the relationship between India and China. I don't know whether at the end of it you will want to ask any questions. If you are not too tired, you would be most welcome to do so.

Western Intellectuals

The interviewer asked the question as to why shouldn't there be a common approach in the Commonwealth towards civil rights, towards constitutional processes, and so on. Now that wasn't a lay question. I personally have been convinced that the so-called intellectuals in the Western world, and especially in Britain and America, have lost their religion. They have no faith in their religion. They may go through the exercise of observing the outward manifestations of their religion, but they have no belief in their religion. But a human being cannot live without an ideology, without a religion. Even Communism is a religion. So in order to fill that gap, for them the outward manifestation of their democratic system is a religion. Just as for instance, if we don't pray five times a day, don't fast, don't go to Haj, we are called bad Muslims. Even though we may tell a hundred lies and do many other wrong things, but if we perform these outward manifestations, we are called good Muslims.

I think that is what is happening in the United States, and that is what is happening in Britain. Anyone who departs from the outward manifestations and forms of their democratic system is called a heretic. For us there is a lesson in it, and that is this that we have found our political liberty, but we have not found our psychological liberty, as even here I am talking to you in their language. Whenever we want to engage in serious thinking and study, we use the English language and read English texts. We are psychologically not a free people because we have certain ideas borrowed from the British and we still think that those are the standards, and if we do anything which departs from those ideas, we think that we are doing something wrong.

Original Thinking

I think that is one of the major battles that we have to wage to regain our self-respect and our self-confidence. That will only come if we are original, when we produce original ideas and produce institutions, political and other institutions, that are based on our circumstances and our conditions, and in which we can have faith, which we can work. Only then we can have true progress in the country and unity among the people of Pakistan.

Unfair Criticism of Constitution

When the Constitution is sometimes criticised, not only outside

but within the country too, I feel sorry for such people. I only wish and pray that they would apply their minds more effectively. They often tell you that certain aspects of it differ from what John Stuart Mill or somebody else wrote, and what someone in America has said in the text-book, and my reply always is : Please sometimes—for a short time even—read the book of Pakistan, and then you might get some wisdom out of it. Get to know the people of Pakistan, get to know the problems of this land, get to know our internal problems and our external dangers, and once you get to know that, you will come to this conclusion that the major requirement of Pakistan is a stable Government. It should be democratic. It must be brought into being by the will of the people, but we must gain stability as a means to developing our country, and developing our society. Unless a political system gives that, it is not worth it. Then it is a poison to us, as it has proved before 1958. So, for God's sake, every thinking Pakistani must think originally so as to get his self-confidence and his self-respect. Unless free people do that and take pride in their own institutions, and create their own institutions, they will never be free people.

Opposition's Role

The question was asked whether the Opposition has a role to play. Of course, it has got a role to play. We have to see what are the requirements that are needed for a Pakistani society to run Pakistan. As long as the basis of Pakistan remains what it is, and on the basis of which it was brought into being, then there are two or three things which are demanded of everybody in Pakistan, if he is in political field, whether with the ruling party or the opposition. Our first essential is to establish Muslim Nationalism, in the meaning of a common brotherhood of Muslims in Pakistan. The equality and brotherhood of man, and all our laws, all our customs, all our traditions must be based on that basic concept. We must nourish Muslim Nationalism in this country, and in order to nourish that, and in order to seek security, continuity and stability, we have got to have a strong central Government. This is the absolute irreducible minimum, the pre-requisites to the very existence of Pakistan; as a matter of fact for the very existence of the Muslim society in this sub-continent. You study the history of the Muslims in this sub-continent and you find that as long as they had a strong centre, whether it was in the form of an autocratic king or some other form, Muslim civilization and the Muslim society flourished. And

as soon as the central power weakened, the Muslims' sufferings started. And that started from the time when Aurangzeb died.

Strong Centre

Ever since then, we have taken punishment after punishment and our trials and tribulations have not yet finished. True, we are a free people in Pakistan but we have been much under pressure and oppression in India, where the life of Muslims is still worse than that of a dog. That has happened because we have not had a strong enough centre, with enough power to be able to give cover and protection to the Muslim society. Unless all Pakistanis bear this in mind we will never be clear about what we are aiming at and what we are trying to achieve. Controversy in a free society there must be, rightly or wrongly, on sound or unsound basis, but once the controversies have been thrown open to criticism by public opinion and decisions are made by the representatives of the people, then I think basically we ought to begin with those settled facts of life. Their variations and applications can be considered in the light of circumstances and in the light of conditions and requirements.

So, these are the basic requirements for all Pakistanis to understand, and as long as the Opposition in this country conforms and accepts this irreducible minimum and supports it, well, then the Opposition has a very definite role to play. Unfortunately our Opposition has not got that in their minds yet. I am not unhopeful and the time may make them see reason, may make them see light and if that happens it would be a very great blessing for Pakistan. We would then be a mature society and capable of looking at things dispassionately and getting sound and proper decisions.

But, inspite of all our difficulties we have been able to transact an enormous amount of business in our Assemblies, especially in the Central Assembly, where tricky problems were discussed and resolved—problems concerning the Constitution which are all difficult and generated a lot of heat.

Istanbul Agreement

Now, the idea of the Istanbul agreement is by no means a new idea. I do not claim the authorship of it either. But our assessment has been that the future of smaller countries in Asia is very bleak unless they get

together and form cohesive Governments in order to be able to resist the pressure of major powers in Asia. Look at the picture of Asia today. What do you see? Three mighty countries emerging—Russia, China and India. India with something like five hundred million people, China with seven hundred million people, and Russia a very strong country. Whereas, on the other side you see smaller countries in Asia. Now, if any of the three countries were to expand where will they expand? Can they expand—in the empty space of South America or Australia? They can't. They can't because those areas are all held by the white races, and they are strong enough to defend themselves. If that is the case then how and where are they going to expand? They can only expand it is only logical—at our cost, either for the sake of power, or for the sake of acquisition of material and natural wealth.

To refer to smaller countries in Asia. They will always remain vulnerable and they will always be under some pressure, like the way we have been living for the last seventeen years under the shadow of Indian aggression, oppression and pressure. That will be the history of all smaller Asian countries. I think if wisdom is to prevail the only sensible answer is to get together in order to be able to present a bigger base, a bigger unity and to have a little more voice in world affairs. Should pressure develop against them, we should be able to resist it more effectively.

Future of Middle East Countries

If you agree with that analysis, then one is entitled to ask : what is the future of the countries in the Middle East? Especially, what is the future of Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan? Well, it would be a wonderful thing if the other countries in the Middle East also appreciated the need for an understanding. But if they don't, at least it would be a good thing to make an endeavour to get these four countries together, and that has been my dream for a long time. In fact when we joined the Baghdad Pact I had a good deal to do with it, a good deal to do with friendship with Turkey, friendship with Iran, and friendship with Iraq, and my hope was that here was an opportunity for the Muslims of the world and of these regions to come on one platform. It was the first time in the history of two major religions—Christianity and Islam—that the Christian world was looking for support to the Muslim world for their own safety. These two religions had been at logger-

heads with each other ever since the inception of Islam. The Crusades were fought for four hundred or more years. But the Christian world having been threatened by the Communist world was seeking and looking for assistance of the Muslim world. The Muslim countries too needed assistance and friendship in order to be able to develop themselves, because they had come out of the bondage of the European powers and their need was to reconstruct their society and reconstruct their economy. We have all joined together on a platform under the Baghdad Pact, and I thought at that time if the Arab world were also to come with us a great service would be done to Islam. But some of the Arab leaders talked of the Pact as a trap. How could this harm them? There never was an intention to harm them, and certainly there was no such intention on the part of Pakistan. We genuinely felt that this was the right course to take and if that course was taken a great deal of good would have followed from that.

Well, the turn of events brought Iran, Turkey and Pakistan together. We have gained a lot out of this alliance. We came to know each other at different levels and that has generated confidence and goodwill for each other. Whereas the Istanbul Pact is a child of events, it has also been born from the mutual trust and mutual confidence in each other through our long association at different levels.

I had no intention of going to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference because I had a lot of work to do in the country. When our Foreign Office insisted, I said, all right. But I would like to drop in at Ankara and see our Turkish friends. They had been complaining that I had not visited them. So, I said, I will go. I will also call on the Shah of Iran who is a very good friend of mine. Well, I thought I might call on another King also. Kings are not easy people to deal with. I said, I might drop in at Kabul too. Well, in Kabul I tried to get them to see the need of the four Muslim countries getting together.

Philosophy of Getting Together

Now, before I go further, let me explain to you the philosophy of getting together. What is the right way of getting together? What is the right way of getting together with other people? The right way is that you should get together in a non-controversial field, in a field where you can really help each other. But once you have political tie-ups then bickering starts. What happens is that you make compromise after compromise with each other till such time that the common deno-

minator is the common weaknesses of all. I am sorry but I must tell you the hard truth of life as I feel it. Therefore, I will be extremely careful that we do not have an arrangement whereby we inherit each other's weaknesses. If ever a closer tie-up develops between these three or four countries in future, and if I have to do something with it, I can tell you the way that it should be done. But if I am not here then I think you must know the way that it should be done so that you do not bring about common weaknesses to become the running pattern of these countries.

I believe that the way to do it is this. Define certain spheres in which you are going to collaborate. Having defined them, have an executive authority headed by the Head of the State of each country in rotation—the three or four years' rotation. Do not have a common assembly. Whenever any major decisions are taken by this executive body, get ratification from the respective assemblies of the countries. Once you have a common assembly, the dogfight starts and then all the evils accrue. I am not decrying the existence of assemblies. Please do not take it as an inference from what I am saying. What I am saying is this. Do not allow that sort of arrangement to develop whereby you inherit each other's weaknesses and you make uncomfortable compromises.

Friend with Iran and Turkey

Now that was at the back of my mind all the time. The Shah of Iran is very anxious that we get much closer to each other than ever. He also pressed the Turks and the Turks asked me 'what we should do'? I said, friends, you make up your mind to what extent you are prepared to go along with us. Well, after some discussions I began to push home some truths to the Turks. They are very good friends and they are very dear friends. They are a very sensitive people and a very proud people. You cannot discuss the business of life with them easily unless there is implicit trust between them and you. I told them, make up your mind as to what you are going to do. So far you have been saying that you will be part of Europe. But the Europeans will never accept you as Europeans. They are Christians and not Muslims. Even though some of you may not believe in Islam, you are suspected by them, for you have fought against them for six hundred years. They are not going to trust you. Let us remember what happened when Turkey wanted to join NATO some ten or twelve years ago. All of Europe rose up to say

'how can you allow a Muslim country to join a Christian Pact?' I say this is going to operate against you. In any case you can only be second class Europeans. But how will it do if you become first-class Turks and first-class Muslims? That can only be if you come along with us. I think that argument had some effect on their minds. I am not unhopeful that the Government in Kabul too will realise the virtue of our getting together. I think they will benefit in all this. There are some indications. They are trying to get literature from us as to what has transpired so far in the RCD to find out whether it can benefit them. As the common man there gets a greater hand in the running of the country, the need for getting closer to Pakistan, I think, will become more and more apparent.

RCD Organization

In establishing an organisation for running the agreement of the RCD, I was very careful that it should not be top heavy. It should be simple and manageable so that its interest is really promoted. Our people have been earmarked to prepare working papers in different spheres—9 and 10 different spheres, where collaboration is possible between the three countries. I think, so far the results have been very satisfactory indeed. I don't want to brag about it or take any undue pride, but it is our people who are doing much of the thinking and the planning, for the simple reason that we have well-organized civil services and they have gained experience in planning and in the execution of major plans. These are exercises for which you require very high quality manpower and, luckily, we have been able to do it. A good deal of that manpower is being built up in Pakistan, although still not as much as we need, and the art of planning on a national and international basis is becoming known in this country. I am sure you wish this venture a success as I wish it a success. If it comes about, this will be amongst the things that have been the dream of some greatest Muslims in the world, and the dream will be coming true.

P.M.'s Conference

About the Prime Minister's Conference. This conference in the main was concerned with, as Sir Alec Hume described (in the T.V. Film), how we can collaborate with each other more intimately in the development programmes in the developing countries, and the other

was a general resume' of the world situation as it is today. In the discussion were : that we should have training facilities, exchange of people with technical know-how and of administrative experience, and a certain amount of assistance to each other. But remember, the only country in the Commonwealth which is capital exporting is Britain. Canada too is well-off, Australia too, but they are basically capital importing countries. A vast amount of American capital flows into Canada, and also into Australia. But they are vast countries. When I was in Canada someone told me that it will require an average person two lives to be able to just see Canada. A country of unimaginable size : it is really a continent. Similarly Australia. They are like bottomless sinks in which vast amounts of money can be poured for development and there will be no end to development. This is particularly true of Canada where they are finding tremendous resources, natural resources in the form of minerals, oil, etc. They do not really know how rich they are.

Economic Assistance

As I was saying, Britain is the only country which can export capital and has been exporting capital. But a curious phenomenon has happened, as I was told by Mr. MacMillan on one occasion. He said that to build an Empire it had required tremendous effort but to unbuild, it was requiring more effort. To get rid of the empire needed even greater effort. Wherever the British are pulling out, they offer economic assistance in order to keep those countries floating. Those countries which demand independence also demand economic assistance.

This is what Britain is facing today. This is what France is facing today. A good deal of their financial resources is going towards this. Britain is also assisting us to a certain extent. We would like greater assistance from Britain because we know each other, we can trust their word and they can trust our word. But they have got their limitations. They are having their balance of payment difficulty every now and then. The last three or four months have been very difficult for them. They have been running in adverse balance of payment to the extent of three hundred million pounds a month. That is an enormous amount. However, the point is that they cannot entirely satisfy our demands, and they cannot give us the more necessary things. Simpler things like training, etc., are welcome, but what we require is hard cash, a much greater magnitude of resources. Because, as I said in my T.V. interview, we

have built the base for a real move for waging the industrial field. Specially our private sector has shown tremendous bouyancy. Some people say that in this country the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. This is utter rubbish. I say, everybody in Pakistan is a little better off than what he was before. The rich will necessarily get somewhat richer, for we have got to have capital accumulation in the country. In a free society what other method is there for encouraging a free society? Look at our investors, look at our industrialists. They do not eat their assets. They may make a lot of money out of you and me, but they do not waste it. They sink it back in the land. And what does that amount to? It produces more wealth, it produces more job opportunities.

Taxation

Furthermore, our taxation is no child's play. At the last budget, I got it worked out that in certain slabs, a man earning Rs. 100 was called upon to pay Rs. 103 as tax, I do not know, but I am told they keep different types of account books. If I am to work hard to earn Rs. 100 and am called upon by Mr. Shoaib to pay Rs. 103 I may think about doing something else. That is why I said, all right, for God's sake allow a man at least 10 : but no more. So nobody is getting away in Pakistan lightly. When we were making this budget, I happened to meet Mr. Ahmed Dawood. He said, "Ayub, I have done a tremendous job". I said, "What have you done?" He said, "I have paid 7½ crores in taxation this year". I said to him jokingly, "You are still hiding something, why don't you come out with it?"

Just look at that. One industrial house is paying Rs. 7½ crores as taxes. People misunderstand these things. I maintain that every Pakistani's life, as a result of our effort in the industrial and commercial fields, is slightly a little better, if not much better, than what it was before. Except those of course who are imbeciles or incurable. And even God cannot help them. We have not got the resources to run social services for these people. If our population was a little less, somewhere around 60 millions, I think, we might well then be able to go into this exercise. But by God's grace we are increasing like flies, some 75 millions 10 years ago, we were 95 millions some time back, and if you count today we will be probably 105 millions. So it is a losing battle in a way. I tell you that we are going into a brave exercise of family control, and unless we do that, in 10 years' time human-beings

will eat human-beings in Pakistan. I see it very clearly. I shall not be here. That is my only consolation. Unless we control it, there will be a disasterous rate of growth. I think the last time we had a function here Begum Mahmooda Salim requested that I should ask the men to co-operate in family planning. I wanted to give an answer, but I forgot it on that occasion.

[*Mai to un ko samjhate samjhate tang aa gia—maira ye jawab tha ub khuda un ko samjhay or khuda un kay sath samjhay.*]

World Situation

About the world situation as I see it. It is something like this. In some countries even in the Western hemisphere, there are two problems. The gap between the haves and the have-nots is enormous. About 2 to 3 per cent of the people own the best part of the assets of the country. People own estates which cannot even be covered by aeroplane, leave alone walking, riding or going by cars and so on. On the other hand, they have people who live on the level of starvation all the time. The upper strata does realise the problem, but does not have the moral courage to impose limitations on themselves and level up, just as we have done here. Sometimes people can criticise our land reforms. They say that they are interim land reforms, and that the ceiling is too high : 500 acres. Just see the picture of what is happening in other countries where the ceiling is low. In India, I think the basic land holding quota is 9 acres per head. If you own 9 acres, can you sit on 9 acres? You cannot. You will be a casual farmer even if you are interested in the land. For the rest of the time you have got to make your living somehow. You will have to do some other thing. And the result would be that if you go in for this sort of senseless cutting up of land holdings you will have to bring in co-operative farming or state farming.

Cooperative Farming

Now one of the things in which Communism has failed is in cooperative farming. For one thing let me tell you : you cannot run co-operative farming without dictatorship. I am not talking about service cooperatives. I am talking of actual land cooperatives, where people are told; you do this, you do that, you pool your land and you will do so many hour's work and in the end you will distribute your

share, and so on. That would not work in a free society. We sent our people to Yugoslavia, and to other countries, to see the results. We were very keen that we should also be doing that exercise : it can't work. By and large, it is a common pattern in that society, an economic pattern, that you have got to have dictatorship if you want to run that system and if you don't have dictatorship, your land vanishes. And this is what happened in India. That is why their yields have gone down because of their senseless land reforms, which were brought about in an effort to gain political popularity.

Our major industry is land. If we destroy that, we shall suffer.

Test Ban Treaty

On a world basis, there has recently been a certain amount of lowering of temperature between the nuclear powers of the world—between the USA and the USSR. They both realize that if they go on with it, all they can do is to over-kill each other. They have the capacity to destroy Russia ten times or more. Similarly, Russia probably has—I don't say comparable capacity — but probably capability of destroying the United States. They find that power is not helping them to resolve the problems of the world. Nowhere is their voice decisive or final because of certain other factors that I will explain. So there is a treaty, what you call the Test Ban Treaty, on the limitation of fissionable material. One can see that within the foreseeable future the chance of a nuclear war erupting have receded, unless someone does something darned stupid in a hurry. And human being can be stupid sometimes.

But it doesn't mean that the conflict between Russia and the United States has come to an end. That will go on. As a matter of fact the destructive power in the hands of the big Powers is so great, and they are so afraid of each other, that war has now assumed a different plane. Instead of being in the military field, it has now gone into the psychological field. The war now is for the minds of the people, of conversion and subversion of the people, and that is where the struggle is going to be waged, and will continue to be waged. In the course of the conduct of that struggle, you will have smaller wars erupting every now and then.

Communist World

As far as the Communist world is concerned, it has split—Russia

and China have split it in two. It is easy to say, in fact there can be no mistake in anybody's mind, that they can't stand still : they must sell their ideology. It is part of their religion. And if they don't do that, they lose their religion, and they have no intention of doing so. Today since they are not united, if one of them looks like lagging behind in his efforts to spread Communism, the other will call him a heretic. Revisionary is the word. In our language, you can equate it with the worst type of abuse that you can think of.

That is what happened in Cuba. Right under their nose, within eighteen miles of the United States mainland, Russia goes and builds up a base strong enough to almost destroy the United States. Why is it? There were other considerations too, but one of them was to show that they were better Communists and more aggressive than the Chinese, and that they had nothing in common with one another. Meanwhile this struggle will go on. Every now and then it will erupt into open warfare, like warfare of the type that you have in South Vietnam, Laos and those areas. The world is not going to be free from struggle. There will be diverse types of struggles all over the world.

Asian Affairs

In Asia now, what is the picture? There is an open conflict between Russia and China. This conflict is supposed to be ideological. That might well be for the leadership of the Communist world, the non-committed world and so on. Basically it is based on human jealousy. Why is one stronger than the other? China is not prepared to take all this from Russia. This is the reason for it. There has been a good deal of discussion in the world and in the world press as to whether this struggle is deep or everlasting. One cannot really dig the thing out, but one thing is certain that their getting together is becoming more and more difficult. However, one thing is certain, that if China embarks on a war, over Taiwan or in the Southeast Asia, chances are that Russia will not support China. But should China be invaded, should the Chinese mainland be attacked, I think Russia will be forced to come in irrespective of what relations there are between China and Russia. The reason is simple. The Russians would prefer to have the Chinese even on terms of enmity than have the Americans sitting in China. This will be a major policy switch-over. But in a democratic country policy switches are difficult because the politicians talk a lot of nonsense in order to mislead the people ; they work them up—work them up so

much that they do not leave a line of retreat for themselves. In the Communist world these things do not matter. Khrushchev is regarded as a great hero. He suddenly decided : I am going to pull out of Cuba. The Chinese, when they had the Indian army actually beaten, called a 'cease-fire'. Do you mean to say, any democratic country can do a thing like that? Not at all.

Then there is the clash between China and America. That looks like being a long, long struggle. How long will it take, one does not know. It can lead to any consequences. It can lead to a major conflict. There is the conflict between China and India. That is of a limited nature. I think it has been bloated up out of proportion by India and exaggerated to show that the Chinese intend to conquer the Indian sub-continent over the mountains of Tibet where the average height is 18,000 feet, and when the military bases of China are some 3500 miles away on the Pacific coast. Militarily, it is utter nonsense. We have been of that view from the very beginning, and we are still up that view. The plain fact is that the Indians would like to further their own interests to squeeze more arms aid from the Russian as well as from the Western powers so as to commit India more and more against China.

The Chinese are no fools. You study the history of the world. People who tried to conquer continents, where have they got to? Napoleon tried to conquer all of Europe but failed miserably. Hitler did the same, and the same thing happened to him. The Japanese went to China with the intention of conquering China and they only suffered and suffered. The British took 150 years to subjugate this sub-continent even though the people here were divided amongst themselves. I might say, if this has happened it can happen again.

Militarily you cannot use Tibet as a base for major operations. A major operation means that when you get into planes, fighting takes place there. Then you have got to rely on heavy equipment, heavy tanks, bombers and all sorts of sophisticated type for military support. In order to gain quick results you have to have mobility so that you can move fast and hit the enemy hard and destroy him. These things are not possible from Tibetan base. However, this thing has the germs of a major conflict in it.

There is the struggle between Malaysia and Indonesia. Then there is the struggle between Pakistan and India. All these struggles are major struggles, and they can lead to a major conflict in this part of the world and bring about war—perhaps a nuclear war. I think, once there is a major war any talk of limiting it to the use of conventional weapons,

shall we say, nuclear weapons of a technical type, is utter nonsense. It will be full-blast holocaust on both sides. But the danger is that the side which has such a capability, if it does not use it in time it lays itself open to destruction in a matter of moments, and no country is going to take that risk. What will be the outcome of it? There will be no victor and there will be no vanquished. Humanity will be thrown back to some hundred of centuries back, to animalism. All civilization will disappear.

Indian Military Build-up

Let us talk a bit about Indian military build-up as a corollary to the conflict between China and India. India is today planning to build two armies—one against Pakistan and one against China—and she stands to make out that war between China and India and between India and Pakistan is not a remote possibility but a likely probability. I think for their own reasons the Western powers as well as the Soviet Union are supporting India in that respect. We maintain that there will be no major conflict—military conflict—between China and India, but that does not mean that there will not be a psychological conflict, because my assessment is that the Chinese have lost faith in the Indians. They think that the Indians have double-crossed them. They think they are unreliable and that they are the stooges of the Western powers. I don't think there is going to be rapprochement between India and China. I don't think that they are going to trust each other in a hurry.

As regards Pakistan's intentions, we have been named enemy number one by the Indian leaders. Even the great Pandit Nehru himself called us enemy number one. Now, if Pakistan was enemy number one of India, I should at least know because I do the planning of the defence of Pakistan. I have to do it. It is my responsibility. What we need is peace, but peace with decency and peace with self-respect.

Settlement Over Kashmir

This peace can come about if there is settlement over Kashmir. Kashmir has not brought heaven to India, nor is it going to bring heaven to us either when it comes to us. But for us the occupation of Kashmir by India has strategic, economic and ethnological implications, and it is those that are compelling us to wage this struggle. Once it is settled, India can have the satisfaction of peace with Pakistan and freedom from

worry from Pakistan. If I were in the place of the Indian planners, I would reduce the Indian military budget which stands today at Rs. 927 crores and will amount next year to some Rs. 1100 crores. I would reduce it to half. By the mere fact of disengagement of the two armies and the achievement of a Kashmir settlement, India will be free from worry over us and we shall be free from worry over India.

The Indian leaders do not see the virtue of friendship or of a working arrangement with Pakistan. I do not know. The Indian mind is a very acute mind you cannot say that they are stupid. But they have no statesmanship. They do not see far. They look for immediate gains. If they had any statesmanship at all, the first thing they would do would be to win the friendship of Pakistan.

Look at the Indian position today. It is true that India is getting enormous help from the United States, from Britain, from Russia, but in the world in which India is to live—the Asian and Afro-Asian world—India is today a condemned country. Nobody has any faith in her. That has happened because of her treatment of Pakistan. No Asian country has any faith in Indian leadership or Indian intentions. This would not have happened if India had behaved in a statesman like manner. But they have no large-heartedness. They are a small-minded people, I am sorry to have to use these words, but that is a fact of life. I told Mr. Nehru when he came here to sign the Indus Basin Treaty with us, that you do not know what you are missing through enmity with Pakistan.

But miracles can happen. This Indian mentality may change, though I do not see a change in the near future. Should it change, then as far as Pakistan is concerned, peace can come to this sub-continent in a very short time indeed.

Thank you.

(Speech at the Thinkers' Forum at the University Campus, Lahore, October 4, 1964).

QUAID-I-MILLAT LIAQUAT ALI KHAN : A GREAT LEADER AND A FEARLESS SOLDIER

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

The memorial which we have inaugurated today, in this meeting, is in the memory of a man who served you all his life and then breathed his last before you.

The time of death is a difficult time. That is the moment when the real personality of a man comes out. Yo are a witness that when the late Liaquat Ali Khan breathed his last the words which he uttered were "May God protect Pakistan".

There can be no better proof of the fact that the welfare of Pakistan was upper-most in the heart and mind of this great servant of the nation.

When this heart-breaking tragedy occurred, I was in London in connection with official work. Our High Commissioner informed me on telephone that the Prime Minister had been wounded by a bullet in a public meeting in Rawalpindi and that he was being taken to hospital. On hearing this news everything soon became dark to me. But a ray of light was still there. If the Prime Minister had been taken to hospital then he would still be alive and by the grace of God he would be alive. After some two hours the High Commissioner gave me the report that the Prime Minister was dead.

Like crores of Pakistanis my reaction was also this that Pakistan had lost a man whose successor was not in sight. That the political problems which had arisen in his life-time would increase and in their deterioration the country and the nation would suffer. In the newspapers at that time lengthy statements of political leaders were being

published and when I read these statements in London, I used to think that these people, too, were feeling the same pain and grief which was in the heart of every Pakistani.

After about a fortnight when I returned to Pakistan, I met the Governor-General, I also called on the Prime Minister and other important Ministers. I was under the impression that these people would be deeply affected by the tragedy and that the memory of Shaheed-i-Millat would be fresh in their hearts. But I was amazed to find that none of them mentioned even once that a great leader and a fearless soldier of the nation had been brutally assassinated. So far as they were concerned, in talking to them one felt that they were not even acquainted with the incident.

It had taken these people only a fortnight to forget Shaheed-i-Millat, and every one of them had somehow increased his status or was after a higher office.

No one of them realized the predicament in which the country had been placed by the death of Quaid-i-Millat. None of them gave a thought as to what the outside world would say about this country in which the Prime Minister was shot dead in broad daylight.

You will recall that in those days all sorts of news and rumours were current about Quaid-i-Millat's death. Many people thought that there was a conspiracy behind this, and in this connection various names were mentioned. The widow of the late Liaquat Ali Khan repeatedly said that the Government was not investigating the incident in a proper manner. I have had occasion to see the files and the complete report of the investigation. On the basis of what I have seen and read, it seems that the responsibility for this crime falls on one individual, who was affected by some mental or psychological disease. As your President, and as a Pakistani, it is my duty to give you the correct information. Whatever my political opponents may say in a highly irresponsible manner, I will not accuse any of them of being associated with this incident. However, God knows better and only He knows what is in the hearts of all men. But of this there is no doubt that some of these political leaders accused Shaheed-i-Millat in his lifetime of many things, they attacked his domestic life, they instigated the people against him and tried to put innumerable obstacles in his way.

In the type of political system which then obtained in the country it was possible for these leaders to create misunderstandings and spread bitterness for Shaheed-i-Millat in the hearts of people. This way they could not only weaken his position and his leadership but also drag him

down from his office. It is a credit to the personal qualities and strength of this man that he never allowed their tricks to succeed and, till the last, he was able to maintain a strong centre which gave no opportunity to disruptionists to raise their heads. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the death of Liaquat Ali Khan should please them, for they welcomed the departure of the one person who could keep them disciplined.

In my capacity as Commander-in-Chief, I met the Quaid-i-Millat frequently. He was always very gracious with me and whatever problem I presented to him he resolved it in a wise and patriotic manner. During his last days I was very near to him and he used to talk with me about many matters.

I became aware of his courage and his great heart when in July 1951 the Indian armies began to gather on the borders of Pakistan. Quaid-i-Millat said to me : "I am tired of these Indian threats. If this business is to be settled by war then we shall have to take to war. Even though every one of us is killed in the process". I still vividly remember the power and grandeur of his voice when he spoke these words.

It is a pity that today that voice is silent. But his memory lives on in our hearts.

Memorial

This memorial which we are starting to build today in his memory will cost nearly Rs. 15 lakh. This amount will be shared equally by the Pakistan Government and the Government of West Pakistan. *Insha-Allah* when this project is complete then you will have a magnificent public hall for your use here in which about a thousand persons will be able to hear speeches or participate in cultural activities without the discomfort of heat and cold. Adjoining the hall will be a public library for the benefit of the people, and an art gallery where exhibitions can be held. This garden too will also be suitably improved.

Our respect for Liaquat Ali Khan increases all the more when we look at the persons and the happenings following his demise. What befell the nation during these 7 years is known to every one of you. Government became a plaything. Sometimes it seemed as if a dramatic farce about democracy is being played ; one actor comes on the stage, shouts a few slogans and goes behind a curtain, then another comes up and repeats this performance. It was more a puppet show than a democracy. All the evils of that system, as also the true colours of the

political leaders were exposed before the people. All these evils and these political acrobatics had lain subdued because of the greatness of the Quaid-i-Azam's personality and, after him, because of the central position of Quaid-i-Millat. As soon as this central personality left the scene all these evils raised their heads like demons.

History once again taught Muslims the lesson that their unity and safety depended on a strong centre, and that whenever they moved away from this centre their political existence would be endangered.

Jugto Front

The leaders of the Jugto Front assert that a strong centre means giving all power in the hands of one person. They are wrong. I may tell you my interpretation of a strong centre is not one man, but a central organisation. An organisation which should be able to resolve the quarrels between the various parts of the country and the different groups of the people. As long as there is no friction these various regions and different groups should be free to work as they like. But whenever there is a difference of opinion then it is imperative that a central organisation should have the complete authority and the complete responsibility of resolving such differences.

If my intention had been to have a Government controlled by one man, there would have been no need for a Constitution and for holding general elections. You have seen that from our side there has been absolutely no interference with any meeting or procession of the Jugto Front. On the contrary they have complete freedom to pursue their political work. In fact they have abused every good thing to their heart's content and have made all allegations against me and tried to mislead the people. I have given strict instructions to my party workers that whatever these people might say they should never try to stop them or to restrain them. They should only reply to their charges so that the masses are kept gradually informed.

When Miss Jinnah's tour programme was published, I made it clear it was the Opposition's right that the opportunity to convey its ideas to the people should be enjoyed by it first. You are witness to the fact that the Jugto Front held meetings and took out processions in the whole of West Pakistan but nowhere did the Government make them feel that there were any restrictions or controls on them.

General Elections

These general elections which are being held in this country for

the first time are the very soul of this Constitution. They have a historic importance for us. This is the first time that the people all over the country have been given the right to vote, and those persons who used to say that the right of vote has been snatched from the people, are now themselves admitting that it is the people alone who will decide the form of the coming Government. If the people did not have the right of vote then what would these parties have to ask of them? I assure with all emphasis that there is nothing in this Constitution which can take away the people's right to vote. They are the real rulers of this country and they have complete right over it. It is they alone who will decide what type of Government should be established in this country.

That is why I say that this election is not a contest between Ayub and Miss Jinnah ; rather, it is a fight between the people and those persons who for 11 years ruled over this country in different ways and pushed it to the brink of ruination. Had the people not been acquainted with the activities of these persons then one might have feared that the masses would be deceived. Happily, all of these gentlemen are known to the people, and each one of them has been at the helm of affairs in this country. The need for bringing Miss Jinnah into the field of politics arose out of the desire of these persons to hide their true character and their past in the shadow of the Quaid-i-Azam's sister.

Respect for Miss Jinnah

I have said this before, and I repeat it again, that there is immense respect in my heart for Miss Jinnah. I am sure that she really believes in what she is saying. No one can doubt her intentions. But what is she is going to say about this that the people whom she has selected to give effect to her ideals can be recognised in their true colours whatever disguise they may adopt?

I am thankful to God that the freedom with which the Jugto Front has organised its meetings in West Pakistan has made clear the true objective of the respective components of the Front.

The city of Peshawar where the late Quaid-i-Azam fought to his last with Red Shirts, was stunned and astonished when its citizens saw red flags waving everywhere in Miss Jinnah's public meeting. When I was in Peshawar a few days ago, I was extremely relieved and happy to find that every man and child of the former Frontier wanted to live under the shadow of the green flag—the flag of Islam and of Pakistan.

When the red flags fluttered in that city, they must have reminded the people of the blood which the martyrs shed in order to achieve Pakistan. Every woman of this country is claiming that she is the sister of the Quaid-i-Azam, she is the daughter of the Quaid-i-Azam. Every boy is proclaiming that he is the son of Quid-i-Azam and every youth is declaring that he is the humble servant of the Quaid-i-Azam and that he is the custodian of the Quaid-i-Azam's trust.

These people who are bringing Miss Fatima Jinnah before the people are power-thirsty. Lust for power is their creed andt hey did not fail to exploit the venerable name of Mohtarma Miss Fatima Jinnah. Who could have dared to use her fair name for political ends? Who would have thought of taking her to towns in her old age? But these people are mad after power and they have no respect for any principle or personality.

When they appear before the people they neither explain their programme nor tell the people how they would solve the problems faced by the country. They just say 'Give us power and see what we do'. But the people saw their performances when they were in power. The people also know what they did when they were in office.

When anybody asks them how the united front which you have formed will implement the different and conflicting political programme, what will happen to the One Unit, what will be your foreign policy, will you run the country on democratic lines or communistic lines, what will you do with regional demands? The just reply 'Give us power and we shall solve all the problems'. They say give us power and then we shall not only solve every problem but finish the whole country. They are proclaiming everywhere that the present Government has done nothing. When people remind them of the reforms they say these are all useless.

When somebody asks them—why did you not implement the Five-Year Plan, they reply, "we are not to blame. Others did not allow us to do anything". Now people should ask them, 'if you were so imbecile while you were in power then how will you be able to do anything now when you have grown old and infirm. When you could not do anything while you were young, why are you taking this trouble in your old age?' They just become mad when they are faced by such questions. They start abusing everybody. Somebody says he was a very good Minister but my Prime Minister was very bad. Someone says he was a good Prime Minister but the Governor-General did not allow me to do anything. Someone says that he was a very good

Governor-General but the wrangling of the political parties made him helpless. Now when all the unhealthy political parties are with them and they have named the combination as the United Front, it may be asked how all these quarrelsome people will do anything solid when they quarrel with each other. They only know to create chaos and confusion.

They think that the people of Pakistan wish to see that drama enacted again. But the people know full well that this confusion will jeopardise the future of the nation and the integrity of the country and the people are not prepared to pay any such price.

Government Achievements

I shall now tell you briefly the achievements of the Government in different fields during the last five or six years.

The first thing is that the country and the people have got stability and due to this they are now thinking and acting as one nation. As a result of this stability the country has progressed so much in the economic field that Pakistan is now a model of progress for the whole world. Every day one and a half crore rupees are spent on development in this country. Due to this stability the system of the Basic Democracies is working well and now the people of the villages and towns are solving their problems themselves and exploring new roads to progress.

The fields which were barren are now booming with prosperity. Due to this stability Pakistan has now occupied an important place in the comity of nations. The shackle of slavery which these politicians had put round our necks has now been thrown away. We can now go to a foreign country with our heads high and these politicians hang their heads in shame when they hear all these things and then they say that nobody cares for them in the country. The people say that you cannot dare move in the country with your heads high because of what you have done. They would ask them 'Do you want that we should give you power again and you should create chaos and confusion'?

Slogan-Mongering

These people are now depending on slogans only. I say Pakistan is a trust of God and He is its protector. He will not allow these slogans shake the basis of this country. Let them raise slogans from Peshawar to Karachi and from Dacca to Sylhet. These slogans will finish

them. Their throats will become hoarse. They will return to their abodes when people will refuse to be approached by them.

It is my earnest desire that we should establish traditions during this general election and create an atmosphere in which the people should listen to whatever everyone has to say and then decide for themselves what is good for them and what is not good.

When I say that I am always prepared to hand over this office to any one who is capable of running this Government, I do not mean that I shall decide about his capability myself. This is a decision which only the people of Pakistan can make ; I, on my part, shall always be ready to submit to it. So far as I am concerned and my Government is concerned, we have served the people of Pakistan as best as was possible. I am sure that the people will repay this service with their affection. I have complete confidence in their power of decision, their spirit and sincerity and their inherent intelligence.

The throbbing of the people's hearts cannot be subdued by political slogans. Their wisdom and sensibility cannot be misled by a false accusations and invented tales. Their decision cannot be belied by meaningless claims. My whole life—every moment of my life—is devoted for the people of Pakistan, and if anyone thinks that threats and tall claims can move me from my path then he is sadly mistaken. My path is the path of Pakistan, it is the path which guarantees the existence of Pakistan, it is the path which means the progress of Pakistan, it is the path of the people of Pakistan.

One thing which grieves me is the fact that after holding out threats to me these politicians have now also started intimidating Government officials. They should remember that every functionary of the Government, in whatever field or Department he may be working, has the protection of the Government and of the people. I have directed Government officials to make sure that there is absolutely no interference in the elections. They are to make certain that there is no irregularity and that they should perform their duty honestly and calmly. They should give no heed to the cowardly activities of these persons who are threatening them. It is the primary duty of the Government to protect its officials.

I sincerely believe that the lamps of achievement which this Government has lit on the road to public welfare and prosperity will not be extinguished by the breaths of these old politicians.

LONG LIVE PAKISTAN !

LONG LIVE PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN !

LONG LIVE THE STABILITY OF PAKISTAN !

(Speech at a Public meeting in Rawalpindi, October 16, 1964).

UN DAY MESSAGE

It was 19 years ago that the United Nations Organisation was established with the primary object of saving mankind from the scourge of war.

The World Organisation has achieved a laudable measure of success in promoting international understanding and co-operation. The major powers of the world have now recognized the imperative need for peaceful co-existence as a solid foundation for peace and progress. There has been a degree of abatement of the Cold War. On the other hand, while the quest for disarmament continues, no progress has been made to forestall the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons nor have measures been taken to strengthen the system of international inspection of nuclear reactors to ensure that atomic energy is used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

A valuable beginning has been made towards promoting all-round economic development. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has identified the economic problems of developing countries and underlined the imperative need to establish a new system of economic relations between the less developed countries and the richer nations if world stability and peace are to be secured.

In spite of the gains made in the last 19 years, true peace has yet to be achieved. Injustices prevail. Grave disputes remain unresolved. The security of small nations has not been assured. Indeed, there is the danger that mere absence of conflict may be confused with peace and the *status quo* with justice. Tension and conflict exist in many parts of the world capable of threatening the peace of these regions and of escalating into wider hostilities.

The continuance of the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, the grave situation in Cyprus, the confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia, the conflict in Vietnam, and the mounting tension in Laos and Cambodia show all too clearly the dangers which face the world and the urgent need to make the United Nations an effective organisation, able and willing to guarantee the security of all nations and to uphold the Purposes and Principles of its Charter.

(Message on the occasion of 19th Anniversary of the United Nations, October 23, 1964.)

REVOLUTION DAY MESSAGE

Six years ago, our nation, by the grace of Allah, turned the corner. Political and economic chaos was left behind. Reforms were carried out. And the nation regained its self-respect and stature. We are now back on the road to progress. But six years are too small a period in the life of a nation. A lot remains to be done. So the task of national reconstruction continues.

The nation prepares to go to the polls to express its will. The question it has to answer is a simple one. Do we go back to the days of political and economic instability, of internal strife and intrigue, of international disgrace and ridicule, of our own loss of faith and morale? Or do we march forward on the road to stability, strength and prosperity? The answer lies with the people and I have no doubt that they will make the right decision.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD.

(*Revolution Day Message, October 27, 1964*).

VOTE FOR RIGHT PERSON TO ENSURE STABILITY : ADVICE TO THE PEOPLE

I have just returned from a tour of Khulna, Jessore and Kushtia. At all these three places and other places along the route, particularly at Noapara and Jhenaidah, I had occasion to address very large gatherings. I was deeply impressed by the response which I received from the people. It was clear that they were fully alive to the choice facing the country and their own responsibilities in helping to continue the progress of the last six years.

The country is having its first general elections and every adult member of the population has to discharge a solemn responsibility in casting his vote for persons who will act as the Electoral College for the Presidential and other elections. The future of the country is at stake. I have no doubt that the people will rise to the occasion and give their verdict in favour of stability, progress and unity of the country.

I wish to thank my countrymen who turned up in such large numbers to hear and meet me. May Allah bless them.

I wish also to thank all those concerned with the arrangements made in connection with my visit.

(Message to the people on the conclusion of his tour of Khulna, Jessore and Kushtia, October 31, 1964).

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen: Assalam-o-Alaikum.

As I speak to you, the elections are on. Polling has begun in West Pakistan. It will begin in a few days in East Pakistan.

In the history of our country, it is the first time that nation-wide elections are being held, based on adult franchise. Before Independence, elections were held on restricted franchise. After 1947, elections were held now and then in a province. But general elections were postponed on one pretext or another.

This historic occasion, therefore, fills me with deep satisfaction and thankfulness to Allah that with His grace I have been able to keep yet another promise to my people.

Nobody can deny that these elections are completely democratic. The Opposition has had the freedom to conduct its campaign without any restriction or fear. Even heckling, rowdyism or other ways of disturbing political meetings which are a common feature of elections in other countries, have not taken place here. To that extent our elections have been more dignified and fair. And I am so pleased that there has been no ugly incident anywhere so far.

I am confident that the polling itself will also be as clean as possible. Impersonation, which is the most serious evil in elections, is not easily possible in our system of election, with manageable constituencies. I am anxious that we should set up healthy traditions.

These elections give me considerable satisfaction as they mean the further fulfilment of the Constitution. Moreover, any one can see that the election activity has provided political education to our people. They have heard both sides. Let them choose. I have no doubt that

they will choose wisely, and that they will not be swayed by slogans or emotions.

A few days ago we celebrated the Revolution Day. We observe it to remind ourselves what a change the Revolution brought about in our political, social and economic existence. Our Revolution has been described as unique in that it was bloodless and free from victimisation. And the short duration of the Revolution—four years—was devoted to the planning and launching of a large number of reforms whose impact, already noticeable in the case of some of the reforms, would be fully visible only in course of time.

The moment basic reforms had been introduced, I restored the democratic form of Government. This, inspite of the fact that I was advised to postpone the restoration until the reforms had taken root and matured. But I know that my people appreciated the reforms and that they could be trusted to co-operate with me in bringing them to fruition.

In external affairs the world picture has undergone a dramatic change. A new leadership has taken control in the Soviet Union. China has made an impressive entry into the nuclear club. The Conservative Party in the UK has yielded place to the Labour Party. Presidential election in the United States is shortly due. It will be some time before the significance of these events becomes clear. It is our hope that these changes would lead to a lessening of world tensions. The human race has suffered grievously from international tensions, most of which could have been avoided. Let us pray that the new leadership emerging in the powerful countries of the world will take a new look at the unhappy world situation and reduce humanity's miseries.

Of immediate concern to us is the acute tension between India and Pakistan. It endangers peace in South-East Asia. If it has not burst into something more serious than the minor shooting across the Cease-Fire Line, it is entirely due to our self-restraint. But so long as the causes of tension remain, and the balance of power in this subcontinent continues to be tilted in favour of India through heavy arms aid from more than one source, the prospect is very grave indeed.

Whether it is the tension between India and Pakistan, India and China or South Vietnam and North Vietnam, the solution does not lie in arming one side or the other, but in bringing about a peaceful solution of these disputes. Since peace is indivisible, it should be as much the concern of the world powers, as of the parties to the dispute, to avoid doing anything which would aggravate the dangers of war. On

the other hand, the big powers must exercise their influence, and the power God has given them, to make the aggressors or the unjust, refrain from their aggression or injustices. If this is not done, the parties to the dispute will not alone be dragged into the resulting conflagration. The disinterested spectators will also be sucked in.

The situation in occupied Kashmir has unfortunately worsened. There is no peace or stability in the State. And how can there be, when the people are denied their right of self-determination, promised to them again and again, but never given actually? To appoint stooges to give the facade of self-government, and to hold the State nominally through them but actually by large armies, is the worst form of colonialism and oppression. These tactics may have helped centuries ago, when there was no political awakening among the masses, but are of no avail these days. India herself threw out the British, in spite of their power, because the Indian people did not want them. It is well-known to India, as well as to the rest of the world, that the people of Jammu and Kashmir do not want to remain with India. It is, therefore, a question of time before the enslaved people of the State get their heart's desire. Meanwhile, we will continue to champion their cause of self-determination.

The Regional Co-operation for Development took a step further when the Ministerial Council approved certain schemes last month at Tehran. The experience gained from the schemes approved, or those under consideration, will show us the way for further collaboration. May the Almighty guide us along the right path, the path of those whom He blessed and not of those who fell under His wrath or went astray. *Ameen*.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD.

(*First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation, November 1, 1964*).

PEOPLE FULLY ALIVE TO IMPORTANCE OF ELECTIONS: NORTH BENGAL TOUR IMPRESSION

I have just returned from a most rewarding tour of North Bengal. I visited Rajshahi, Thakurgaon, Dinajpur, Saidpur, Rangpur and Bogra, apart from a number of wayside places.

People came in lakhs, from remote corners of their districts. They walked long distances and waited patiently for hours to give me an opportunity to explain my point of view and to place before them the achievements of the Government and the future programmes of development.

I was deeply touched and inspired by the warmth and spontaneity of people's reception everywhere. By the grace of Allah every man and woman in this province is conscious of the work done by this Government for their welfare during the last six years. They are also fully alive to the importance of the issues which they have to decide during these elections—the first ever to be held in the history of this country. They know that it is their vote which will decide the future of Pakistan. I have no doubt that their vote will be cast for dignity, stability and prosperity.

I shall always cherish the memory of the vast sea of eager faces and bright eyes surging with enthusiasm and patriotism. I thank them all.

I am also grateful to those who made such wonderful arrangements for my visit. Let us continue to work, united and disciplined. *Insha-Allah*, our efforts will be crowned with success. *Ameen*.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD.

(Message to the people on the conclusion of the tour of North Bengal, November 5, 1964.)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT : OUR NATIOAL TARGET

Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, Your Royal Highness and distinguished ladies and gentlemen : *Assalam-o-Alaikum.*

I thank you for the honour you have done me by inviting me to inaugurate this important conference. I am much impressed by the level of representation here of the ladies not only of Pakistan but of other friendly countries. It is a happy augury that women are also becoming internationally minded. With the shrinking of the world, through the annihilation of space, mankind is fast becoming one family. And in the family, the woman has an important role to play.

APWA'S Role

APWA has come a long way since it was inaugurated soon after the birth of Pakistan. And you Madam, as the founder-President, can look back with the pride and joy at its growth. I wish it long life and success. *Ameen.*

Women are half the world. Or, are they more in numbers? In any case, they are known as the better half. But it is unfortunate that the fair sex has not had a fair deal until recently. Happily, the women of Pakistan can raise their head in pride because our country is second to none in the matter of giving the women their due. In fact emancipation of women is moving at a fast pace in Pakistan.

And this is as it should be. For we are an Islamic State. And Islam proclaimed nearly 1,400 years ago that men and women were made of the same essence, the same soul and had the same rights. Besides,

we are a developing state trying to enter the age of science and technology necessitating awakening of people especially the women.

Our Constitution also enshrines principles and rights such as the equality of all citizens (men and women) before the law, non-discrimination against a person on the ground *inter alia* of sex except where in the public interest it is necessary to make a reservation for the women or men. Some instances of these exceptions would be the reservation of educational and medical institutions for the women only, and some of the hardier jobs for the men.

Most important of all, every adult woman has a right to vote as much as every adult male. In the matter of right to inherit property, our women have complete legal support. So that when the "Pakistani women look to the future", which is the theme of your conference they can do so with confidence and optimism.

Begum Liaquat Ali Khan has done, what she herself calls, some crystal gazing. She must have learnt this art during her diplomatic assignments. If I may be permitted to point out, the crystal has not been quite clear. For instance, Education is no longer at the 'bottom of the list'. One of the first things I did, on taking over the government of this country, was to appoint an Education Commission, calling upon it to produce a scheme for the educational, scientific and technological advancement of this country to the front rank of nations. The Commission's report has been considered to be a model even for other countries.

And let me assure you that funds are no longer the handicap. Before I became Head of the State, the financial provision for education was Rs. 58 crores in the First Five-Year Plan. Of that only Rs. 40 crores had been utilized. Simultaneously with the improvement of absorption capacity, we found it possible to provide Rs. 132 crores in the Second Five-Year Plan. And encouraged by the experience of these five years, we are providing Rs. 272 crores in the Third Five-Year Plan. This is a big advancement.

Time would not permit me to go into the details of what we are doing in the other spheres mentioned by Begum Liaquat Ali Khan. Suffice it to say that our national target is socio-economic development and not merely economic development.

One last word before I end. The welfare of women and children is now generally recognized in our country to be highly desirable. But may I say that in seeking welfare and progress we should not overlook the social and spiritual values which Islam enjoins on us. Our nation as a whole sets them above anything else. Every social welfare orga-

nization, if it is not to become separated from the community which it serves, has to carry the people with it. They have to live, feel and behave like them.

I thank you once again for the honour you have done me by asking me to inaugurate this great conference, which I do with extreme pleasure and best wishes.

(Speech at the Triennial Conference of the All Pakistan Women's Association held at Pakistan House, Islamabad, on November 9, 1964).

FREEDOM FROM HUNGER WEEK : REMINDER OF VITAL PROBLEM OF MANKIND

I am happy to learn that the Regional Freedom from Hunger Week will be observed for the week commencing 23rd November, 1964.

This week is an annual reminder to the peoples of the world of the problems of hunger, under-nourishment and low incomes. The Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, which has sponsored the campaign and has organised this annual programme, has played a major role in bringing to light this vital problem of mankind.

We have supported this Campaign whole-heartedly in the past and assure the F.A.O. of our full co-operation in the fulfilment of its objective in the future.

The present campaign is of particular significance to Pakistan on account of her low agricultural productivity *vis-a-vis* the heavy increase in the rate of growth of the population. It is the policy of my Government to give this problem the highest priority so that standards of living of all citizens are raised through higher incomes.

Our development activity in this behalf is being accelerated and we can claim that already we have passed the first milestone in our effort to achieve a better future. What I wish to emphasise today is that the all round increase in agricultural production that we have achieved in the last few years is only a beginning, and concerted efforts by the Government and the farmer have to be maintained at a high pitch if we are to escape starvation, poverty and failure. It is my belief that every effort made in this behalf has divine support and the fact that we have achieved our targets of 1965 in many cases two years earlier is a visible sign of His blessings.

(Message on the occasion of inauguration of Regional Freedom from Hunger Week, November 23, 1964).

SERVE YOUR PEOPLE AND YOUR COUNTRY : ADVICE TO AITCHISON COLLEGE STUDENTS

Mr. President, Mr. Governor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is always a pleasure and honour to come to this great institution. The Principal has described its past history in brief. My understanding of the history of the Chiefs' College is that it was brought into being ostensibly to make men of the offsprings of chiefs and princes, but in reality to keep them out of mischief, and possibly teach them manners. But I think some did turn out to be men and the most outstanding example is your Governor here and a few more like him, who have proved an asset and credit to the country and to the society. The type of people that are now inducted in this institution is now different. You represent a segment of practically every section of the society, and that is a sign of change of time. And what are the demands of new times? The new times talk in terms of the rights of common man, the basic equality of all individuals, of merits and people who have got the necessary qualities of brain and character in them and of giving them an opportunity to improve themselves better for service to humanity and service to their country.

Two Major Tasks

Now another thing that has happened in Pakistan must be understood and that is this that this country today is engaged in two major tasks—one is the unification of the people living in Pakistan, and

the other is trying to project themselves and enter into the age of science and technology in order that we develop our country, in order that we improve our living standards and everything else that goes with it.

Barriers of Tradition

Now this is a gigantic effort, a great effort, to call upon a stagnant society to break out of stagnation and enter a new sphere of life which is totally different, and which requires a rational approach, that nothing is taken for granted until you are mentally satisfied that it is sound, true and right. Now that is not an easy task : it is an extremely difficult task. Human beings are traditionalists. They want to hang back on traditions. In fact, they want to hang back, relying on things that their forefathers did. But today, the time is a fast moving time. What our fore fathers did is not going to serve us and is not going to help us, and how can we enable ourselves to move with these times and take advantage of the facilities that come to human beings.

Rational Thinking

The only way that we can do this is to apply our mind to everything that comes in front of us in a most rational fashion, and in a most objective way, regardless of what the traditions are. Now this is easier said than done. It is an extremely difficult thing to do. My own personal experience of life is this that although God has given us the most valuable equipment of thinking power : it is the last thing in the world that an average person wants to utilise. And that is why, by nature, we are traditionalists. But we have got to break out of this mental stagnation, and the quicker we do so, the earlier we shall be able to find salvation for ourselves.

Industrial Civilization

Another phenomenon that has occurred in the world today is that this is the age of industrial civilization. Industrial civilization emanated and started from Europe and it is fashionable amongst our people to talk in terms as if it is something repugnant, something whch we must shun. I think this is not a correct attitude. So, this is what you cannot escape from its impact and ramifications. You cannot shut yourself from all-pervading civilization. Today, the mass media of com-

munications have improved so much that what occurred in any part of the world gets spread up in a matter of seconds and minutes all over the world. So, how can you shut yourself off from these things of life and new ideas?

Identification of Good Things

The answer in that case is that let us first of all identify what is really good and beautiful and worth preservation in our civilization and there are lot of things which we can preserve and must preserve and let us also identify good things in the civilization of other people. Let us graft the two and adjust them to our requirements and conditions. If we do that, we shall be a great people and we shall be able to enter this age of science and technology as fast as possible.

Tasks Ahead

So, these are the tasks ahead of us and you might notice that amongst the large number of reforms that have been introduced in this country, the most vital reforms were the educational reforms and that they are based on the ideal requirement that I have described to you. We have to make a major effort in order to be able to cover a faded span of our national life which normally takes the nation to 50 to 100 years to cover that as quickly as possible. We must get on to what the economists call in terms of economy a get off stage, a take off stage and a self-prepared stage of economy as fast as possible and that we cannot do unless we produce the requisite amount of manpower that is needed to be able to get up to that stage in a country of this size of nearly one hundred million people.

Responsibilities and Opportunities

As far as your institution is concerned, it aims at producing men of talent and character who are imbued with the spirit of dedication and are an asset to the society. Thus it is rendering a great service. All of you, youngmen, have got tremendous responsibilities ahead of you and also tremendous opportunities because of Pakistan : opportunities which were not available to my generation. You are very lucky people indeed, and you must recognize this and you must owe it to Pakistan exactly by serving your people and your country. If you do that, God will bless you and people like me will feel happy.

I am very glad to see that a separate school has now been built for the youngsters. I think, previously they were kept with the older boys, as the Principal very rightly described them as big, bulky and bully. I hope the younger people will now be able to breathe more freely and they won't bully each other except to guide each other on the right path and the right line. I am very happy again to say that I have got this opportunity, rather I have been given this opportunity, of coming over here and opening your institution to which I wish all success. I wish you also all happiness and great success in life.

Thank you.

(Address on the occasion of inauguration of newly constructed block of Aitchison College, Lahore, November 26, 1964).

TELEVISION : AN INSTRUMENT TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES

Mr. Governor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

After the attainment of Pakistan our main task is to build Pakistan. In this process of building up, there are important things involved. First of all there is the need for national integration, and the other is the need for developing our country in every sphere and in every walk of life. Therefore, our national objectives are these two major items—national integration and building up of our country. I maintain that every activity that takes place in Pakistan must go towards implementation of these national objectives, so that we reach our goal in the shortest possible time.

National Objectives

In the process of achieving our national objectives we have to carry our people with us, and in order that our people come along with these ideals, they have to be awakened and their interest has to be stimulated to their new responsibilities and the new opportunities. We have to broaden their knowledge and we have to stimulate their civic and social sense in a much acuter form. Therefore, we have got to make available for them as many media of mass communication and information as possible, and as quickly as possible.

Utility of TV

You will notice that with a view to achieving that objective, we have

enlarged the scope of our radio transmission activities at a great speed. Then there was the question whether we should instal television in our country or not, because that is the surest and the most effective means of reaching the people. Not only do you reach the people through their sense of hearing but also, much more effectively, through their sense of seeing. And the combination of these two does help in the process of fresh thinking and in an understanding of problems. We came to the conclusion that although television is an expensive hobby, and that in our process of development, we have a large list of things we ought to do, and that there are other things, perhaps of more importance : eventually the idea prevailed that it is far more important that we do all we can to stimulate the interest of the people and make them conscious of the requirements of a new life. Therefore, we have embarked on this project.

Pilot Project

This is the first pilot project. There is going to be another in Dacca, and later on we hope that in a few years' time the best part of the country will be covered by television. In this process our Information and Broadcasting people have taken an immense amount of trouble and have put in an enormous amount of work. I think you will all like me to thank them on this occasion for the efforts that they have put in. We have also to thank the Nippon Electric Company of Japan who have been the pioneers in this field here. They are the people who are going to instal these facilities, who are assisting in installing these facilities. They too have worked with great dedication and with the firm belief that they must help us as fast as possible. I should also like to thank them for the assistance that they have given us. I might also say that there is need for having such a medium for reaching the people quickly, especially if you are running your country on a democratic system. In any case life has become very complex, particularly in a country like Pakistan which is in the process of development, whose resources are limited and whose resources have to be controlled and effectively employed so that they produce the best results. Major decisions are being taken day and night by the Government which affect the life of the people. Often, reasons for those decisions are not appreciated. If we have a medium of this nature we can reach the people with great speed. I have no doubt that through such a medium there would be much more understanding between the people and the Governmental

agencies, and certainly much more support for the policies which the Government undertakes. Because if you want to run a democratic country, on democratic system, you do not want unnecessary misunderstanding between those who are responsible for running the country and those for whom the country is being run.

Take countries like the United States, other European countries, Japan and so on. Any major policy matter can be explained to the whole of the population in a matter of minutes and seconds. That brings about national integration, national cohesion, national understanding and national support in national aims and objectives. I hope that we too shall be in that happy position in the course of time.

TV Corporation

When we were talking about introducing television in the country some misapprehensions were expressed that in certain countries television has become a commercialised instrument and it is misused : that it is not used for the purposes which are conducive to the best interests of the people. We thought that in future our television should be so organised that such a thing cannot happen. Government will have the major control, a major share in whatever form the new corporation takes, and Government will have the main say in the policy of programmes and in projecting views and ideas and so on. We do hope that this instrument will be used for the purpose for which we are devising it, that is for the education of the people, for increasing the knowledge of the people, for instilling civic sense and a sense of responsibility in them, for national integration and for a general broadening of their outlook. Alongwith that, I think, it will provide useful and purposeful entertainment and pass on information of interest to the people.

There will have to be a certain amount of advertising effort also, because we want this organization to pay for itself in course of time, and we have to have some arrangement of that nature to make it pay. But its main function will be what I have described to you, and I hope those objectives will be constantly kept in view.

As I have said, in installing this pilot project our own people have worked, the Japanese have worked, and I hope this project will give you good entertainment and will be a good source of knowledge. You will

have to be patient with it because this is a very complicated arrangement and it takes time to develop our own boys who are beginning to learn. I have no doubt that they will learn it soon and I hope they will eventually be able to give the fullest satisfaction.

The organisation will be backed up by a training institution, the object of which will be that we should be able to train our own manpower to handle all this in the quickest possible time. I, therefore, wish this venture the greatest of success, and have great pleasure in declaring the Lahore Television Station open.

Thank you.

(*Speech on the occasion of inauguration of first Pilot Television Station in Lahore, November* 26, 1964).

EQUIPY OURSELVES TO MEET CHALLENGE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT : APPEAL TO STUDENTS

Mr. Governor, Mr Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It gives me special pleasure to be associated with the centenary celebrations of the Forman Christian College, Lahore. In the case of the students and staff of this college, joy must be mixed with pride and satisfaction at the completion of a hundred years of very useful service of the cause of education. May I extend to you all my sincerest congratulation on this happy occasion.

I am much impressed by the fact that the Forman Christian College, through its hundred years of beneficent existence, has set a very worthy example of the good that can be accomplished by a noble band of dedicated men imbued with a highly developed sense of public service. It is gratifying to know that the high ideals of the founder continue to animate his successors, past and present.

Socio-Economic Development

It is no doubt due to those lofty ideals that your college has acquired a worthy reputation for itself. The achievements of your college, your constant endeavour to those achievements, and your high traditions call for still greater effort. The educational institutions of this sub-continent should no longer be content with turning out literate persons fit only to seek jobs. With the coming of Independence, they must equip the young men and women of this rising nation to meet the challenge of the needs of socio-economic development. We have arrived late on the scene of international competition. We have,

therefore, got much leeway to make up. It requires special effort on the part of the youth of the nation and its tutors. Hard work, devotion to studies and noble ideals must be inculcated and practised if we are to hold our own in this highly competitive world.

Faith and Courage

The rising generation also needs faith and courage to enter the struggle of life, for the sake of its own future and that of its country. Faith and courage require a moral and spiritual base in the human mind and character. Fortunately our own spiritual and cultural heritage, if properly inculcated into the new generations, can well equip them for the vicissitudes of life.

Before I conclude, I would like to refer to the proposal to put up a Centenary Hall to commemorate this occasion. I think it is an excellent idea. I have the clearance from the Government to offer one lakh of rupees. But I think this is not enough ; so I will persuade them to raise the donation to 2 lakhs.

I wish this college, its staff, and students many happy returns of centenary celebrations. And may the young men and women who go out of the portals of this institution prove to be worthy sons and daughters of Pakistan in whose stability, strength and progress lies their own future.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(Speech on the occasion of Centenary Celebrations of F. C. College, Lahore, November 28, 1964).

TREAT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AS PART OF NATIONAL SCHEME: APPEAL TO EDUCATIONISTS

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen: Assalam-o-Alaikum.

It is with a sense of pride that I welcome this occasion to be associated with a project that is so near my heart. I am glad that the importance of social and manual work has not only taken root in the minds of the students, but has also assumed a practical shape in most educational institutions of Pakistan. I have always thought that our education would fail in its objectives if it neglects to cultivate in our youth a degree of social understanding necessary to pass an intelligent judgement on human issues.

Schools, colleges and universities have always been regarded as the fountain-heads of knowledge and character-building. It was, therefore, essential that educational institutions should interpret and transmit essential values which have been accumulated through human experience.

Dignity of Labour

Perhaps the greatest mischief that the wrong ideas of education seem to have done to the cause of youth is that an ordinary educated man shuns manual labour. It is natural to prefer one profession or calling to another since people differ in aptitudes, but contempt for labour and manual work is certain to harm a nation most grievously. Those who abhor manual labour and consider it below their dignity, should be

made to realize that every calling has its own merit. A social aristocracy or a scholarly heirarchy does not represent a class apart from the rest of the nation. A scholar has no greater honour than that which accrues to him from his work. The same rule applies to an artisan and a craftsman. Their work is also honourable in the best sense of the term. To despise their achievements is a mark of ignorance. Our Holy Prophet, by doing even menial work with his own hands, has raised the status of the meanest work to the highest level.

Team Work

I agree with you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that the object of social and manual work does not finish with the digging of earth here and there, but includes a variety of educational values. It undoubtedly helps develop personal traits such as human sympathy, respect for others, self-reliance and initiative. Those who have been working on these projects must also have realized that success lies in team work. The sense of accomplishment after the day's work must have given them a joy which few other activities could possibly rival. They must have realized how all of us depend on one another's labour and how every individual in society has his own place and worth. These are some of the secrets of human experience which no teacher in a class-room can tell you and no book can reveal.

Better Adjusted Citizens

Ladies and gentlemen, the rapid changes in national social life have had their repercussions of the schools and colleges as social institutions. The shift from homogeneous to heterogeneous communities and the prevailing tendency towards industrialization, with constant changes in the cultural patterns, make it difficult for the individual citizen to adjust himself in the crucial revolutionary period of change facing Pakistan. Our educational institutions should not be considered merely as places of scholastic instruction, but rather as integral part of the national scheme for creating better adjusted citizens who have developed their sense of responsibilities and who can use their abilities and talents for the common good.

There is no end, therefore, to the good that the scheme of social work for the young men and women of the nation can do. I hope that all

those in charge of the scheme, and those working under it, will put their heart and soul into it.

(After reading out his speech the President made some extempore remarks.)

Problem of Indiscipline

He said that the problem of students' indiscipline was of considerable concern to all thinking minds in the country. Pakistan was at a stage where it was faced with the gigantic task of projecting itself in this century of atomic power, the century of scientific advancement and the century of nuclear achievements. At the same time the country had to make considerable sacrifices in giving education the number one priority. At the moment, the Government was spending enormous amounts out of its resources, amounts which were unimaginable a few years ago. He believed that the Government of West Pakistan alone was spending something like Rs. 45 crore this year on education.

Educational Reforms

The whole object of undergoing this sacrifice was to ensure that the youth of the country receive the best possible educational facilities under the circumstances. This was also the object in revising the whole educational system. But the educational reforms were not final. Everything human must be revised in the light of new experience. But such changes had to be made with cool and collected mind and without agitation of any sort, the President said : "On one side, the Nation was doing so much for students, and it had many expectations from them. On the other side there were unfortunate eruptions of misbehaviours and ill-discipline which it was not possible to justify. I would not blame the whole student body for this. But I would certainly blame some students who had no business to be students. I would also blame some politicians for inciting the students. In my own time it was unheard of that students should indulge in anything which was unacademic or unethical. We must pull ourselves up and see that these things, this indiscipline and rioting, do not happen again. This is abhorrent to our philosophy and our way of life. The responsibility for ensuring that we do not go against our principle falls on all of you.

Liberty with Discipline

It is said that the finest thing that one can have in this world is liberty. But in the liberty there has to be a right mixture of discipline. Otherwise it no longer remains liberty. Then it becomes chaos and turmoil. We must subject ourselves to discipline as without this quality it is not possible to do anything purposeful in life.

I must warn the students that expression of indiscipline and disorder does no good to any body least of all to themselves. Such acts will not help them, and no body will come to their aid when they are in trouble because of these acts. The students will only be bringing about their own downfall and spoiling their own careers", the President added.

Social Work

The President also referred to social work by students. He said this was a very good thing but not so easy. It could become easy if those who wanted to do social work kept up constant touch with the people to understand their needs and their problems. There was great dignity in social and manual work and service of humanity was truly service to God.

The President said that the lack of space for recreation and games was the problem which was being constantly examined by his Government. But sometime with the best of intentions, it was not possible to provide playgrounds and open spaces. Some people had suggested to him that there should be something like Officer Training Corps in every institution. He was not in favour of this. He found nothing commendable in turning perfectly intelligent and studious people into pseudo-soldiers who cannot even fire a rifle properly. It was his belief that instead of this, the thinking power of the students should be developed so that they are able to understand things around them and learn to use their brain.

P.T. Exercises

He said that he favoured the combined mass P.T. (Physical Training), exercises which not only build up body but also stimulate interest

as the brain too has to work. He was against drill which was only mechanical in nature and people had to act like robots.

He humorously remarked that physical training was also preferable because it "takes the devil out of the youngsters". In fact, he believed that the staff too should join in this P.T. "They will look better and last longer".

The President recounted that when he became Commander-in-Chief of the Army some 14 years ago, he noticed that there were a number of fat officers around. He issued orders that all officers under 42 should do a P.T. period five times a week and that every six months they should take a test on physical endurance in which they should have to run 3 1/2 miles. After a few months he noticed that everybody had become smarter and that all the sloppy and ungainly people were looking much better and healthier. He said that for the army those were difficult times. There was trouble in Kashmir, the army was not properly built up and there were many other problems. He found that the fitness of the officers became a great asset.

Concluding, the President said that he was very happy to be with the students. He had just come from F.C. College and it had done his heart a lot of good to see so many healthy and earnest young people.

(Speech on the occasion of distribution of Certificates for Social Work at new campus, Panjab University, Lahore, November 28, 1964).

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE LAHORE : AN INSTITUTION OF HIGH ATTAINMENTS

Mr. Governor, Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen and my dear Students:
Assalam-o-Alaikum.

It gives me great pleasure to visit this college again. The occasion is historical as the college is celebrating its Centenary and for me it is a privilege to participate in these celebrations.

The celebration of the centenary of a college offers an appropriate occasion for joy and felicitations. I join others in congratulating you all and wishing you the best in the next 100 years.

The Centenary also provides an occasion for the assessment of past achievements and for reflections on the tasks that lie ahead. On this day I would like to reflect with you, Mr. Principal, on the panorama of history during the last 100 years, the role played by this college in the past and its role in the future.

During the last 100 years, the world has witnessed significant developments in every sphere of life : social, cultural and political. In all these developments, educational thoughts and institutions of higher learning have exercised profound influence.

Role of Government College

During this period Pakistan has emerged as a free and independent nation. In the attainment of independence your college played

a worthy role inasmuch as it produced thinkers, workers and leaders who laid the foundation of the independence movement.

Contribution To Scholarship

Your college was one of the first institutions of higher learning established in this part of undivided India. It soon set up traditions of excellence in its varied activities : teaching and research, sport and physical recreation, debates and drama. As time went by and more and more institutions were established, the college successfully strove to maintain its pre-eminence. The teaching staff for many decades was incomparably the best. To give only one instance, the late Maulana Mohammad Husain Azad was a genius and an intellectual giant who has left an indelible impact on Urdu literature. Some of the teachers were known for their scholarship not only in India but in the famous universities abroad. We would be paying a tribute later to the memory of the late Professor A.S. Bokhari who was an eminent scholar and who distinguished himself equally well in the international sphere. Your college produced men of great intellect and vision like Allama Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, the man who dreamt of Pakistan, great statesmen like Sir Fazle Husain, eminent administrators, educationists and scientists. There is hardly any walk of life in which historians will not find the product of this college, with the sure imprint of their *alma mater*. There is no doubt that your college has exercised profound influence on the intellectual and political awakening which led to the creation of Pakistan and to the advancement of knowledge and promotion of research which were the characteristic features of the Panjab University. Mr. Principal, I share your sense of pride in the achievements of your college.

But, what are the tasks ahead?

We are now a free and independent nation. However, we have constantly to guard this independence and to consolidate it. We have enemies outside the country : We must be strong enough to prevent aggression or thought of aggression. Within, we have to forge unity which must transcend all regional and sectional interests. This unity must be based on the foundations of the welfare of the people in all regions. Pakistan will be rich in the richness of each of its components. Thus, one of our primary tasks ahead is the unity and consolidation of Pakistan and its national integration.

Fight Against Poverty

We have won our freedom but we have yet to win the fight against poverty, disease and ignorance. Poverty brings social unrest ; ignorance brings misunderstanding. We must fight these hard. One of the characteristic features of the last hundred years has been the spectacular improvement in the standard of living in some of the countries. This has been the direct result of advances in science and technology, and their application for the development of natural resources. It is through these means that the advanced countries of the world have been able to ensure for their people high standards of living and fruits of cultural progress. We have to do likewise. This is another important task ahead of us.

In the accomplishment of these tasks, the educational institutions have a vital role to perform. Your College, Mr. Principal, has an even more important role to play in the future than in the past. I hope and pray that it may play its role worthily, consistent with its previous traditions. It must maintain its lead. The accomplishment of these tasks, however, let me warn you, is by no means easy : it will require hard and sustained work and above all a sense of responsibility and dedication.

I have always felt that education is vital for unity and national cohesion and for social and economic progrss. It is in this conviction that I have given education a very high priority.

Requirements of Education

Education, however, to be useful must be of the right type and of good quality. It must lay emphasis both on scholarship and development of personality and character. It should be provided in an atmosphere favourable for healthy living, for creative thinking and for a programme of sustained studies. It must also inculcate moral and spiritual equalities without which there is no difference between animals and human beings. It must teach sterling human qualities like hard work, patriotism, patience, self-discipline and fairplay.

I know that there are many shortcomings in our educational system, but let me assure you that these are due to the limitation of our

resources. We have made a modest but encouraging beginning in the Second Five-Year Plan. I am happy to state that the provision for education in the Third Five-Year Plan is nearly three times as large as in the Second Five-Year Plan. I hope that the new allocation will enable us to build the educational structure on a strong and sound foundation.

Mr. Principal, it is heartening to note that the Provincial Government has been able to provide funds for a well-equipped auditorium, and numerous other amenities. It is Government's earnest desire to provide amenities for teachers and students.

Teaching of Science

Mr. Principal, you have laid emphasis on science teaching and the need for providing well-equipped laboratories and libraries and the provision of funds for research. I will commend these proposals to your authorities. As I have said earlier, it is our firm intention, to develop resources to make such facilities available on as wide a scale as possible.

Mr. Principal, I will now ask you to assure yourself whether your college is well organized to maintain its old traditions and to face the task with confidence and courage. Are your standards in teaching and scholarship among the staff and students as pre-eminent as in the past? I am glad to hear that some of your teachers have produced original contribution to the advancement of knowledge. I offer them hearty congratulations : and I hope others will emulate their example. Are your standards in sports and physical endurance as good as in the past? I hope this is so.

Dedication to Pakistan

Your students have always done well in higher competitive public service examinations. I hope that this tradition is being maintained. At the same time, your students also developed a sense of responsibility, a sense of public duty, befitting this great college. I hope that this tradition is being maintained too. Have your students also acquired

a sense of dedication to Pakistan and a desire to make it strong and prosperous. I hope they have.

I would like to say a word to my young friends who have received degrees or other distinctions today. You have spent some of the best years of your life in this college. I hope that you have spent them well and that you will carry with you happy memories of your stay. You are now entering a new stage in your life where you will have to be on your own. I hope you will face the future with faith and courage and you will prove to be worthy sons and daughters of your country.

Before I sit down, I should like to suggest the creation of a fund for amenities for the students of this college and I have pleasure in donating Rs. 2 lakhs for this purpose. I would like you, Mr. Principal, to suggest one or more schemes on which this money could be usefully spent.

I thank you once again for inviting me to be with you here today. I have enjoyed the visit. *Khuda Haffiz.*

(Speech on the occasion of Centenary Celebrations of Government College, Lahore, November 30, 1964).

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

It is with a feeling of great satisfaction that I am addressing you on the conclusion of the first phase of the general elections in the country. This election was a gigantic operation. In fact it was not one but 80,000 elctions in which every adult man or woman, except the insane, had the right to vote. Even in remote villages and inaccessible mountains men and women queued up to choose their representatives on the basis of personal knowledge of the candidates. The whole process has been full of meaning and purpose which the voter clearly understood. The participation of the people in the elections has been unprecedented. Over 50 million had the right of vote and nearly 80 per cent of them are reported to have exercised it. Not many elections have been held in history in which such a large percentage of voters actually came to the polls.

I congratulate those who have won the confidence of the people and welcome them to their new responsibilities. I also congratulate the Governments of the two Provinces for their judicious and efficient handling of the law and order situation in conditions when passions were running high.

I do hope that the emotions worked up by the heat of the general elections will now subside, and we must settle down quickly to the main task of working for the progress and strength of the country. As it is, our progress has suffered because of the political and economic instability of the fifties. It was due to no fault of our people. It was the

fault of the situation which then obtained. I may perhaps explain this, particularly for those who were too young then to know or remember.

When the 1956 Constitution had floundered, and conditions in our country were getting from bad to worse, the then President suspended the Constitution, promulgated Martial Law and called upon me to take over the government of the country. In doing so, I made it clear on the morrow of the Martial Law, in my broadcast to the nation, that I intended to restore, as soon as practicable, democratic institutions, but not those which had failed miserably and nearly brought about political and economic collapse.

From the first day of the Revolution, therefore, the major problem before the country was to evolve a form of democratic government which could be understood and worked by the people. The presidential form offered the best prospects for political stability and steady economic progress, which were sorely needed for a developing country like ours. Under this form the people would have an opportunity at regular intervals to choose their representatives and their government. Once the people make their choice, the Government should have enough stability for a specified period to implement its political and economic programme. At the end of that period, which now stands at 5 years, the government should go back to the people for a fresh and free mandate.

The time between the promulgation of Martial Law and the introduction of the Constitution was used for initiating major reforms in economic and social sectors. One of these reforms provided a base for the constitutional pattern which was being evolved. In June 1959, within 8 months of Martial Law, the system of Basic Democracies was announced in consultation with the Provinces.

The object in introducing this system was to associate the freely elected representatives of the people with all levels of the government of the country. Previously, the elected representatives of the people were associated only at the Provincial or Central Assembly level. The local bodies, in which the representatives of the government did not sit with the representatives of the people, had failed miserably. Many local bodies were under suspension and where they were working

they presented a dismal picture of mismanagement and inefficiency, if not of worse evils.

In the Provincial and Central Assemblies, where the representatives of the people sat with the government, the parliamentary form had brought things to such a pass that ministries fell like nine pins. Those who were in authority were so afraid to meet the members of the legislatures that they eventually came to avoid the holding of any session of the assemblies except once a year or so, and that too because the budget had to be passed. If they did not fall in that session, or earlier, it was due to manipulations which were nothing short of political scandals.

It was bad enough that the people did not get a single chance during the eleven years of parliamentary rule in the country to choose their representatives and their government through elections. What was worse, even the out-dated representatives of the people had only a brief encounter with the government once a year or so. In the meanwhile the man who suffered was the common man. He had neither any voice nor any choice in the running of the government.

The system of Basic Democracies was adopted solely in the interest of the common man. Let us not forget that nearly 80 per cent of our people live in villages surrounded by pressing problems requiring immediate attention at the village level. Even in towns people have urgent problems of education, health and social welfare. It was to provide a sure means of dealing with such problems that Union Councils were set up in villages and Union Committees in urban areas.

The Union Councils, apart from looking after their local public affairs, are required to adjudicate and arbitrate in local disputes which previously used to involve the people in endless litigation and economic ruination.

Learning from the experience of the previous local bodies, wherein the foreign government and its officers stood aloof, we have associated the government with the elected representatives of the people at all levels, from the Tehsil upwards in West Pakistan and Thana upwards in East Pakistan. At these levels, the elected representatives of the people sit with the government officials of the locality to review the working

of the local administration to look into the grievances of the people, and to plan and execute local development schemes.

The announcement of June 1959, setting up Basic Democracies, mentioned that its members might well form the electoral college for higher elections. But since this was to be the subject matter of investigation by a Constitution Commission, it was not possible to make a more categorical statement.

The first general elections were completed by January 1960. The newly elected representatives of the people recorded a ninty-six per cent vote in my favour. They also gave me the mandate to frame the new Constitution.

On receiving this vote of confidence and mandate a Constitution Commission was appointed which carried out a thorough examination and submitted its report in May 1961. This report was published and its study undertaken as quickly as possible. The result of these deliberations had then to be clothed in constitutional language. Constitutional drafting is a delicate and time-consuming affair. With all the pushing and expediting, the new Constitution was promulgated on 1st March, 1962, and elections to the Provincial and Central Assemblies held soon thereafter. Martial Law was withdrawn in about 3½ years, perhaps the shortest time in history.

I was advised to fix the first term of the President and the legislatures at 5 years, which was going to be the normal tenure in the new Constitution. But I fixed the first tenure at 3 years, thereby cutting down my own by 2 years, mainly because elections to the electoral college were due towards the end of 1964 and I did not want elections to the assemblies and the office of President to follow two years. Later, I wanted the electoral college to reflect the will of the people. For the same reason I welcome the indication that the Election Commission is going to expedite the forthcoming Presidential election.

By the grace of Allah, I have kept all the promises which I made to the people, and I leave the verdict to the same Merciful Providence and to the good sense of the elected representatives of the people.

Turning to foreign affairs, I welcome the reinstatement of President Johnson as the President of the United States of America. I hope that the overwhelming mandate he has received from the American electorate will enable him to take a fresh look at the many problems of this region which call for solution through international action. I have the pleasure of knowing President Johnson personally. He

brings to bear an impressive parliamentary record and great personal qualities of statesmanship and tact on the crucial issues of our age.

In occupied Jammu and Kashmir, the freedom fight has received fresh impetus from the events of the last month. It should be obvious to all but the blind that it is no use trying to suppress the rightful urge of the people of that State to choose by a free and fair plebiscite which side they want to join. We admire the indomitable spirit of our brethren across the border. As if the suppression of the people within the State was not enough, the Indian army has intensified its aggression against the Azad Kashmiris who are defending themselves heroically. The border firing has now spread to East Pakistan where we have had to hit back in self-defence. The reported decision of more than one Western Power to enhance their arms aid to India has merely encouraged aggression. Those who sit at a safe distance do not realize the danger of adding fuel to the fire. We know that they are doing it primarily for their own global policies. But this is not the first time they are mistaken in framing their global policies. India is not going to be taken in by the bait offered and destroy herself by fighting with China. Even without a headlong clash, it does not suit India to have her great neighbour hostile to, or working against, her all the time. India's place is among the Afro-Asians where her hostility with China is already costing her dearly. So, that it is merely a question of time before India makes up with China.

In the meanwhile the present trend among the Western Powers to vie with one another in arming India is creating grave dangers for us and other smaller countries around India. We are, therefore, faced with growing peril. While putting our faith in Allah, we have to stand firm and united and guard against disunity and disintegration because these are more helpful to an aggressor than arms and equipment. We must build up our nation and develop our economy and industry as fast as we can, because without such a base no country can defend itself in modern warfare. Your Government is fully conscious of this need and is working towards it. May the Almighty protect and guide us. *Ameen*.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation, December 1, 1964).

LETTER TO CHINESE PREMIER ON NUCLEAR TEST

I have the honour to acknowledge Your Excellency's letter of 17th October, 1964, on the subject of the first nuclear test carried out by China which is a most impressive achievement of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people.

The Government of Pakistan has taken note of the statement issued on October 16, by the Chinese Government, and welcomes the commitment that China will never be the first to use nuclear weapons and that the Chinese Government will continue to work for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

Your Excellency is no doubt aware of the views of the Government of Pakistan on the necessity of associating China with all efforts for disarmament and of restoring to be People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations under whose aegis disarmament negotiations are being held. We believe that the acquisition of nuclear capacity by China further reinforces the arguments in favour of China's participation in the U.N. and its organs to make the working of this organisation for the safeguarding of world peace truly meaningful.

Your Excellency may recall that when last year, in their statement of 31st July, the Chinese Government proposed the convening of a World Conference at the Heads of Government level to consider the question of prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, my Foreign Minister conveyed my Government's support to the proposal in his reply to Marshal Chen Yi which was conveyed through the Chinese Ambassador in Pakistan, on September 1, 1963.

Consistent with that stand, the Government of Pakistan once again welcomes and reaffirms its support to the proposal for a summit

conference of all countries of the world in order to discuss the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

The Government of Pakistan hopes that the proposal would evoke a positive response among the Governments of the world, and particularly among the great powers who have a special responsibility for the maintenance of world peace through the achievement of universal and comprehensive disarmament under effective international control.

Should this hope not be fulfilled under the present international situation, the proposal of the Chinese Government could well be taken up at the Second Asian-African Conference. As Your Excellency is aware, the subject of "Complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons" has been recommended for inclusion on the provisional agenda of that Conference which, after full consideration of all aspects of this question, could take a decision on the convening of a world summit conference for this purpose.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Text of the letter dated December 2, 1964, to Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, in reply to Chinese Premier's letter of October 17, 1964).

MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY

We celebrate today the birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam. His life-long and active service to the cause of the nation enabled us to win a homeland for the Muslims of this region. He gave us two guiding principles : first and foremost, he enjoined on us 'Unity, Faith and Discipline'. Secondly he said a few months before his death : 'Nature has given you everything. You have got unlimited resources. The foundations of the State have been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you Godspeed.'

Those that followed him at the helm of affairs were not strong and competent enough to control the situation, nor was then the political system conducive to the maintenance of political stability. Consequently, the Governments rose and fell with sickening rapidity and the country's progress was retarded. In fact, we reached the brink of disaster.

The Revolution came to the rescue and, learning from the past, we have envolved a system which is a happy combination of democracy and political and economic stability, with the result that the country has, by the grace of Allah, made progress in all spheres.

The system is finding roots and we are in the happy position of having held the first general elections in the history of Pakistan.

The best way of celebrating the Quaid's birthday would be to rededicate ourselves to the consolidation and progress of Pakistan and not to go about creating confusion, dissension and chaos. The sooner the

country gets on with the work of building up its recently acquired strength and prestige, the better.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(Message to the Nation on the occasion of Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday Celebrations, December 25, 1964).

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum :

I would first like to wish you all a happy and prosperous New Year. I also pray that the Providence, in His infinite mercy, grant peace, progress and stability to our country and our people. *Ameen*!

Tomorrow morning, as the clock strikes eight, each hour that passes will become a moment of decision in our history. Tomorrow, the members of the Electoral College go to the polls, under a mandate given by you, to elect the President of Pakistan.

The choice which you make, as members of the Electoral College, is going to determine the course of our progress. Your verdict will decide the future of our people. Let me tell you once again that the choice before you is not between two individuals but between two distinct ways of political life. You know by now what the two principal candidates stand for. Both of them have placed before you their respective points of view through a long and intensive campaign of mass contact and in exclusive meetings with you.

As you proceed to discharge the grave responsibility which the people have entrusted to you I shall sum up for you, as fairly as possible, what the two principal candidates stand for.

The Combined Opposition Party and their nominee seek your support to establish what they call "freedom and democracy" in the country. This they plan to do by restoring the Parliamentary form of Government. They have adopted a 9-point programme on the basis of which five political parties, each with an ideology of its own, have combined to contest the elections. It is their case that the political and economic stability of the last six years is not permanent as it de-

pends on one man. They further claim that people cannot express their will directly and that there is little substance in the assertion that during the last six years the country has made any real progress in the economic sphere. They suggest that the rich have become richer and the poor poorer and that wealth has been concentrated in few hands while the general mass of people find it difficult to keep up with the rising cost of living.

The fact that we have had the first General Elections in the country in which the Opposition has had complete freedom, bordering on license, to attack the Government or the Constitution, and the fact that more than 80% of the adult population participated in the General Elections is conclusive proof of the fact that the country enjoys not only complete freedom but also complete democracy. It is the people who are deciding who should run the country and in what manner. And you who have been elected through a direct vote of the people are a living embodiment of the will of the people.

The Parliamentary form of Government which the Opposition aims at re-establishing in the country was in operation for many years and the results of the experiment are well known. Governments were made and unmade by a few politicians and not by the people since no general election was held. The Governments of the times were afraid not only to face the people but also the Assemblies whose sessions they avoided as far as possible. Ministries fell like nine pins, sometimes within a day or a few hours. This may have suited the coterie in power, but not the people or the country whose future was at stake. We became the laughing stock of friend and foe. Our ability to survive was doubted.

The charge that the present stability depends on one man is wrong. It depends on the present system in which the people choose their Government at regular intervals but thereafter the Government is free from daily threats to its existence. The legislatures, the judiciary, the press and public opinion are however there all the time to see that the Government conducts itself in the best interest of the people.

Placed as we are in two zones separated by hostile distance it is vital that there should be a strong central authority capable of resolving differences while allowing full freedom to each unit to conduct its affairs according to the constitutional discipline. A strong Central Government under the present Constitution does not mean consolidation of power in the hands of a single individual. In fact there is more transfer of functions to the Provinces under the present Constitution

than ever before. For instance, vital subjects like Railways and Industries are now provincialized.

Whatever consolidation of power is envisaged under the Constitution vests in a central institution. Its authority and its limitations have been defined in precise terms. The executive, the legislature and the judiciary function independently, each in its own sphere, within the constitutional framework. It is axiomatic that only a strong focal authority can promote national policies and national outlook. The old parliamentary system generated regional tensions and encouraged parochial interests to the detriment of national interests.

On the economic side all that has been done during the last six years is before you. The dismal failure of the First Five-Year Plan under the previous regime is well known. So far as our own Second Five-Year Plan is concerned, the Plan targets have been achieved, by the grace of Allah, and in certain sectors, like agriculture and industry which are so vital to our economy, the development has gone beyond the targets.

The charge that the implementation of the Second Plan has led to concentration of wealth in a few hands is based on lack of understanding. Only a small proportion of the total Plan expenditure has been in the private sector. Nearly 85% of the expenditure has been in the public sector for the promotion of schemes and projects meant for the general good of the people. Institutions like the WAPDA, the PIDC and the Agricultural Development Corporation in both wings of the country have been engaged in major plans of public welfare and public interest.

The successful implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan has prepared the ground for launching next year the Third Five-Year Plan which provides for an expenditure of Rs. 5,200 crores as against Rs. 2,600 crores of the current Plan. The share of East Pakistan in the Third Plan will be Rs. 2, 700 crores while West Pakistan will get Rs. 2,500 crores.

In addition, the Works Programme was initiated during the current Plan. This programme has had a direct impact on the rural economy and its execution by the Basic Democrats has resulted in the participation of the people at the village level in the development effort. So far Rs. 45 crores have been provided to East Pakistan and Rs. 30 crores to West Pakistan for this programme. During the Third Five-Year Plan Rs. 150 crores will be spent in East Pakistan and Rs. 100 crores in West Pakistan for the Rural Works Programme.

Our ability to plan realistically and execute economically and ex-

peditiously has been acknowledged by all and Pakistan is now being cited as a model of development for emerging countries. These, by the grace of Allah, are the fruits of political and eonomic stability which the country has enjoyed since the Revolution and the introduction of the present Constitution.

There is much talk of rising prices. I maintain that considering the size of our development effort, which always generates some degree of inflation leading to high prices, the price level obtaining in our country is still the lowest in the world. The prices of food-stuffs, textiles and other items of consumer interest are substantially lower than the prices obtaining in countries with comparable economies. I have undertaken in my Manifesto to take whatever steps may be necessary to stabilize prices and to ensure that all necessities of life should remain within easy reach of the common man. In this we can succeed only if we are able to control the size of population and the rate of consumption. These are matters in which we would require the fullest co-operation of our people.

I stand for the unity of the people and for the development of the country. This, I maintain, can only be achieved under stable political and economic conditions, established with the consent of the people. That is why the present elections are being held.

Let everyone among you make up his mind for himself with the full knowledge of the issues involved. Go fearlessly to the polls with faith in the destiny of the Nation and return triumphantly home with your heads high and your hearts stirring with patriotic fervour in the full knowledge that you have contributed to the stability of Pakistan. Those of you who are assailed by indecision, fear, or apprehension and succumb to regional considerations or sentimental slogans will be haunted continually by sense of betrayal of the Nation.

There should be only one objective before you, that of strengthening Pakistan. Local controversies and mutual frictions should not sway your judgement nor should your personal likes or dislikes, or cause for dissatisfaction with one presidential candidate or another, deter you from rising above personal emotions or grievances.

The whole Nation is looking up to you for a wise, patriotic and judicious decision. May Allah guide you in your judgement and light your footsteps.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD.

(*First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation, January* 1, 1965).

MESSAGE TO PAKISTAN ARMY

I am deeply touched by your message of congratulation on your own behalf and on behalf of all ranks of Pakistan Army on my election as the President of Pakistan, and thank you for it. I would also like to assure you of my deep and abiding faith and interest in the Pakistan's great fighting man-power.

It will be my proud privilege to continue to serve them to the best of my ability.

(Reply to the message of congratulations from Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army, Gen. Mohammad Musa, January 2, 1965).

RESULTS OF PRESIDENTIAL POLLS: ENDORSEMENT OF PRESENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

The Election Commission have made an announcement of the results of the Presidential polls. While electing me to serve as their President for another term people have, by an overwhelming vote of confidence, endorsed my policies and my programmes.

This was no ordinary election. It was an unprecedented event in our history. Both for their magnitude and the free, fair and completely peaceful manner in which they were conducted these elections will always remain a landmark on the road to our national progress.

Through these elections people have accorded their verdict in favour of the Constitution and have given me a clear mandate to pursue my internal and external policies which they have approved. I feel sustained by the thought that in my endeavours to move towards the establishment of a welfare state I have the fullest support of my people.

At this solemn moment I bow before Allah, in all humility, and in response to the confidence reposed in me by the people, I re-dedicate myself to the service of Pakistan.

I join the nation in celebrating the successful conclusion of its first General Election under the present Constitution to choose the President of Pakistan. This is a solemn occasion. And I suggest that we all join in unanimous prayer tomorrow at *Asar* time to beseech the Almighty for his guidance and blessings in our efforts to promote the unity, prosperity and solidarity of Pakistan. I request my non-Muslim countrymen also to hold similar prayers at any time convenient to them tomorrow afternoon or evening.

As I offer my profound gratitude to those millions of people who came out to my support, to those who voted for me, to those who worked untiringly for me, and to those who prayed for me, I must not forget others who differed from me. They too have served the cause of democracy. So far as Mohtarma Miss Fatima Jinnah is concerned, she fought the election according to her own lights. I have no personal grudge and I wish her well.

Let this great moment become a symbol of lasting unity. Nothing should detract from its sanctity and nothing should divert us from pursuing our common cause, the advancement of our country, the welfare of our people. No trace of malice, nor of revenge, should inhibit us from rejoicing in the glory of the people. Together let us build, together let us accomplish ; so that Pakistan should endure and prosper.

The tasks before us are heavy and arduous. We will have to strain every nerve, devote all energy to improve the lot of our people, all over the country. We have to liquidate areas of poverty and misery and a host of other social problems which we have to conquer. In this I shall need counsel and support from every one of you regardless of his political affiliations.

It should now be the duty and resolve of every one of us to address ourselves to the task of reconstruction of our nation. The passion and prejudice generated by the elections should now subside and nothing should obscure the light that guides us along the path of national stability and progress.

Let us make the fullest use of the opportunity which Allah has given us. Let us complete the task assigned to us so that the generations that come after us inherit durable institutions enshrined in the hearts of the people and sustained by an abiding faith in Pakistan.

(Broadcast to the Nation after the announcement of results of the Presidential Election, January 2, 1965).

MESSAGE TO SHAHINSHAH OF IRAN

I thank Your Imperial Majesty most sincerely for your kind message of felicitations. In the years ahead I look forward to the further strengthening of the brotherly ties that bind our two peoples through common endeavour and understanding. I am confident that under Your Imperial Majesty's wise leadership of the Iranian people our two nations will continue to strive for ever-increasing co-operation in their mutual interests. With warmest personal regards.

(*Message to His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Shahinshah of Iran*, in *reply to his message of felicitations*, on re-election, *January 7, 1965*).

MESSAGE TO SOVIET LEADERS

I thank Your Excellencies most sincerely for your warm message of congratulations on my re-election. I fully share your hope that relations between our two countries will develop on the basis of friendship and mutual co-operation. The Government and the people of Pakistan are genuinely desirous of promoting good neighbourly ties with your great country with which we have not only historical and cultural links but also common interests in promoting reduction of tension, world peace, disarmament and the freedom of subject peoples.

(*Message to Mr. A.I. Mikoyan, Chairman, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and Mr. A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., in reply to their messages of congratulations on re-election, January* 11, 1965).

UNIFICATION OF PEOPLE AND BUILDING UP OF COUNTRY : MAIN TASKS AHEAD

I am very grateful to you for inviting me to this beautiful function and I am very grateful for the warm and kind words that have been said about me. I am also grateful to you for the very beautiful gift you have given me. I shall always remember and keep it as a token of your affection and your attachment to me.

New Constitution

The last three years have been very interesting for Pakistan. The new Constitution came into being in June 1962, and we went through a period of three years trying the new Constitution. Its culmination took place in the general elections in the country. General elections, first of all, were held in a free and unfettered condition. This general election was a culmination of the process of Constitution-making and its consolidation.

It is said sometime that this Constitution was made by one man. That may be true and that may not be true. But very often ideas are produced by very few men. That is the way and law of nature. But these ideas are not entirely imposed. True, these ideas were embodied in a form of Constitution but the country and the country's representatives had the full opportunity to hold full-scale discussion on every aspect of it, and finally gave it the seal of acceptance in the form of a vote of confidence in me and, therefore, avote of confidence in the Constitution that was presented to the people. There is no aspect of it that has not been thoroughly thrashed out and discussed in different forms.

New Ideas

Any new idea, any new concept of Constitution is not something which can be universally accepted. There are bound to be differences of opinion. But let us freely discuss those differences. After discussing those, if we are to run a democracy in our country, then we have got to accept the verdict of the majority. There is no other way in which we can bring to an end any differences that may exist amongst us about different things, and I hope this is the attitude that will be taken towards the Constitution and different elements in it.

I hope that from now onwards all controversies about the Constitution will come to an end. Any effort that is made to tamper with it will be with a view to improving it in the light of experience, as opposed to prejudices or, shall we say, self-will or self-interest.

Pakistan's Ideology

We have been in existence. Pakistan is in existence for the last seventeen years and a good deal of time was wasted in Constitution-making. That cannot be a very good chit for us. Sure to God, after all Pakistan was brought into being for a purpose based on certain ideology.

You would have thought that, after coming into being, people would move forward to achieve that ideology. And that ideology cannot be achieved unless we have our fundamental laws agreed to and accepted. If we go on talking about making and remaking Constitution, then we are not prepared to face the realities of life. Realities of life have to be faced if we want to build overselves into a nation and a strong country. Our tasks are, as I have been saying time and again, the unification of the people and the building up of this country. Without it our independence and freedom can have no meaning whatsoever. That is the spirit of this Constitution, that is the spirit of what I have been trying to do and that is what I have promised to do in future.

Responsibility Towards People

Now you have elected me very kindly as your President for the next five years. To get elected as President is something that one should be proud of. I also thank those who have put responsibility on my shoulders. At the same time it is not an ordinary responsibility. It is a

responsibility towards ten crores of people—their existence, their well-being, their solidarity and their progress. There are one hundred and one thing that have to be done in a new country that has so many problems—internal and external. The list is absolutely formidable.

But I can assure you that I have every intention of trying my very best to either solve these problems or mitigate their impact to the extent possible. What the outcome will be, is in the hands of God. You can rest assured that as far as efforts are concerned, no trouble will be spared in order to solve the problems in this country and create a happier, more prosperous and more unified life for our people.

Support for National Progress

Since you been good enough to elect me as your President I, by myself, really cannot serve your purposes. And presumably you have elected me for a purpose. And in order that you get some value out of me you have got to strengthen my hands. Strengthening my hands will enable me to function in the manner that I think is best suited to the interest of the country and in order to do that you have got to see that the people who are elected to the Central and Provincial Assemblies are of a type who are prepared to give me their support in order to go on with building the country and building the nation. Therefore the task is not complete. The members of the Electoral College have still grave responsibilities on their shoulders. And I do hope that you are not going to be intimidated, nor going to be misled and that you will keep to the path of progress, a path of unity for the betterment of this country and in order that you enable me to serve in a manner you wish, you have to give me the manpower that I think is necessary to enable me to carry out the task that I have promised and you expect out of me.

Lesson of Elections

I will say one thing that the last elections have been a great lesson for me and a great lesson, I hope, for the rest of the country. Now, when you come to think of it, I really deliberately exposed myself to all forms of criticism and all sorts of abuse of the basest nature you can think of. I believe it was necessary to face such a situation. If we want to live on a democratic basis, then we have got to go through these processes so that our people learn how to conduct their affairs in some moderate, sensible and constructive fashion. And I hope that the future

elections that would take place will not have the same amount of bitterness.

Political Opposition

Political opposition there must be. It is inevitable. But political enmity is a thing we cannot afford. We must try to get this idea out of our head, if we want to run ourselves in some sensible fashion. And that is the lesson or belief that we must learn. If we continue to adopt the methods of moderation, methods of accommodation, acceptance of the verdict of the majority, I do not see any reason why we cannot, as a nation make a team and work in a concerted and co-ordinated fashion. This is the only way in which you can achieve anything worthwhile. I hope and pray to God that our people will learn this lesson and put it into practice in their life—not only just in political life but in every walk of life. If we do so, we shall be a blessed people.

(Speech at the Civic Reception at Ramna Green, Dacca, January 17, 1965).

MASS SPORTS : AN EFFECTIVE MEANS TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

It gives me great pleasure to be present here today and to meet the members of the East Pakistan Sports Federation and others who are deeply interested in sports.

It is now well recognised that sports promote qualities which are basic to the development of personality, initiative and drive, co-operation and team work, and a spirit of harmony and cordiality both in victory and defeat. In this growing age of international co-operation, sports also help to promote understanding and goodwill between nations.

Promotion of Sports

I have always stressed the importance of sports and physical fitness. I, therefore, share, Mr. Chairman, your anxiety for a large-scale expansion of necessary facilities. I would be only too happy to see stadia, gymnasia and coaching centres, not only at the Divisional level but also at the District and Sub-Divisional level. But the fact remains that our resources are not sufficient to meet a large number of competing needs of the nation in various fields of social and recreational activities and we must live within our resources. Physical education is recognised as an integral part of education and I hope that the Third Five-Year Plan will lay the necessary emphasis on the provision of such facilities.

Financial Assistance

Mr. Chairman, you have expressed appreciation of the financial assistance given by the Central Government to the East Pakistan Sports

Federation and also for the establishment of coaching centres in East Pakistan and you have asked for further increase in these fields. You have also referred to the need for a grant for the Dacca Stadium. I understand that the Central Government has so far given a grant of Rs. 10 lacs; this is the highest grant given for a stadium. However, I propose that a special grant of Rs. 5 lacs be given for this purpose. I also know that last year the grant made by the Central Sports Control Board to the East Pakistan Sports Federation was raised from Rs. 1.50 lacs to Rs 2·50 lacs. Here too I propose that this be raised to Rs. 3.50 lacs. I am also happy to know that a sum of Rs. 18.6 lacs has been allocated for the training and coaching centre. I hope that this amount will help to establish a really first-rate coaching centre. Schools are the real nurseries of potential talent in sports. I am, therefore, anxious that the training and coaching schemes should also be taken up at the school level.

My own experience tells me that mass P.T. and mass sports provide the best means of controlling the natural emotional energies of young people. I feel convinced that a 30 to 40 minute mass P.T. would both promote physical fitness and take the 'devil' out of our youth as I have been saying this time and again. I have already stressed on the Provincial Governments the need to promote this programme in educational institutions as widely as possible. And I believe that in those institutions where this experiment has been tried, the standard of fitness and the standard of discipline of those institutions has improved enormously. And when I propose such a treatment for the youngsters, I also include the teachers in that too. I think it will do them a lot of good.

Parity of Representation

Mr. Chairman, you have also raised the question of parity of representation in the National Sports Federation. I understand that through the good offices of the Minister of Education and Rana Abdul Hamid, the Chairman of the Olympic Committee, some of the sports organisations have already modified their constitutions to give adequate representation to East Pakistan. I trust that this process will be continued and that under the guidance of the two Ministers the different national Federations will be able to bring about the necessary changes in a spirit of harmony and goodwill.

What I would very much like to see is increasing activity in every

type of sport which can thrive in East Pakistan. This Province has already established high reputation in a few sports. It is my hope that the Province would be able to provide talent as good and indeed better than other regions in as many sports as possible. It is equally my earnest hope that Pakistan should be able to provide talent from all regions of Pakistan which would be able to win positions of honour in international competition and more particularly in the Olympics. Mr. Chairman, you may rest assured that your suggestions for increased allocation for sport activities particularly in East Pakistan would receive due consideration to enable Pakistan to achieve high standards of international competence.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for inviting me to this pleasant function. I wish your Federation and the sportsmen of East Pakistan every success and advancement in national and international sports.

(Speech at a reception held by the East Pakistan Sports Federation at the Stadium, Dacca, January 19, 1965).

MESSAGE TO SHAHINSHAH OF IRAN

I was shocked to learn of the cowardly attempt made on the life of Prime Minister Hasan Ali Mansour. I am, however, greatly relieved to know that, with God's grace, his life was spared, and that he is now out of danger and progressing satisfactorily. I wish to extend to Your Majesty my deep sympathy and that of my Government on this unfortunate occurrence. We wish the Prime Minister speedy recovery.

(*Message to His Imperial Majesty, the Shahinshah of Iran, wishing speedy recovery of Mr. Hasan Ali Mansour, Prime Minister of Iran, January* 24, 1965).

ESTABLISHMENT OF WELFARE STATE : AIM OF OUR DEVELOPMENT EFFORT

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to be present at this reception and to have the opportunity of meeting leaders of trade and industry. And I am very thankful to you for your congratulations on my re-election as the President of Pakistan and your association with the policies that I have undertaken to pursue.

I am glad to hear that trade and industry in Pakistan appreciate the numerous measures that my Government initiated and developed during the last six years or so, to encourage private enterprise to play its legitimate role in a developing economy like ours.

Private Enterprise

It will continue to be my endeavour to see that our economy grows, and grows as fast as it can—consistent with the dictates of social justice and equity. I do hope that private enterprise will justify the trust reposed in its spirit of enterprise and sense of social responsibility.

As regards consultation with trade and industry, as you are aware, it has been the policy of my Government to associate representatives of industry and commerce with all agencies of Government dealing with their problems and no major decision of policy is taken by Government without taking into account the views and interests of the business community.

You have suggested direct representation of trade and industry in the country's legislatures and local bodies. The difficulty here is constitutional. There is no provision for reservations. Once it starts there would be no end to such demands.

Agricultural Development

You have stressed the need for developing agriculture, which is the backbone of our economy, on sound economic and efficient lines.

The Government is very conscious of this need, and as you might recall, we appointed a high-powered Agriculture Commission to examine the problem and make recommendations. Those recommendations are now being implemented and the results so far achieved are encouraging.

But we still have a long way to go to stimulate the interest of every individual farmer and get him converted to using modern methods. This perforce is a slow process but we shall continue to persist in this.

When talking about agriculture in Pakistan, we are faced with the menace of waterlogging and salinity in West Pakistan at a large scale, and flood control bringing in artificial irrigation in East Pakistan.

I have only recently written to the Planning Commission and to the Provinces that these matters should be given top-most priority. I think all concerned are conscious of the need for speed.

Apart from that, why shouldn't you industrialists take to agriculture and develop it on modern lines? The law allows holding upto 500 irrigated acres per head. Those who are interested should approach the West Pakistan Government who may be able to assist them in procurement of land.

Technical Training

I entirely agree with you in your emphasis on the need for setting up more and more polytechnics and other technical and vocational institutions for the training of the youth of the countryside in arts and crafts, particularly in agricultural farming, so as to increase their economic efficiency and productivity.

Low productivity level of the vast multitude of our untrained and semi-trained manpower has been one of the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of accelerating economic growth.

The Government will do its best, but I do hope that your Federation and its associated Chambers and Associations will also come out with concrete, well thought-out, practicable plans for spreading, through private effort, technical education and vocational guidance in the spheres in which you are engaged.

Social Welfare

It makes me happy to know that private trade and industry are not oblivious of their responsibilities in the field of social welfare.

Economic indicators like GNP growth rate or per capita income growth rate are meaningless unless the gains accruing from such growth are equitably shared by the people at large and their purchasing power increased.

A welfare state whose establishment is the aim of our development effort, cannot be built without working for the greatest good of the greatest number.

And in this task of raising the edifice of the welfare state, all of us—whether in private enterprise or in public service—are but co-workers and co-builders. Therefore, let us work and work hard ; let us build and build fast. We have to go a long way before we catch up with those who have gone ahead of us.

The ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor—between the haves and have nots—has to be bridged, as without that there can be no political and social stability.

I hope that any measures that Government my take in this direction will be understood and will have your support.

May God give us the ability to respond to the challenge of the situation with alarcity, sincerity and effectiveness, so that we leave for posterity a heritage of which they may be legitimately proud. *Ameen.*

Thank you.

(Speech at a reception of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Karachi, January 23, 1965).

EXPORT PROMOTION BUREAU AND COUNCIL : TO BOOST UP COUNTRY'S EXPORT TRADE

As an originator of the idea, I am glad that the Export Promotion Bureau and the Council have come into being. A great deal is expected of both. I have listened with deep interest to the addresses of the President of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the Commerce Minister on the subject of our export trade and foreign exchange resources.

We are now in the last year of our Second Five-Year Plan and have already drawn the sketch of the Third. The success achieved in the implementation of these plans is indeed a tribute to the strength and purposefulness of the nation.

However, the net results of this Plan and of the next will be comparatively modest increases in the per capita income of our population. Even for this small increase we are heavily dependent on aid and assistance from friendly countries.

This dependence has to be reduced or eliminated in the shortest possible time and in any case we must earn more foreign exchange to pay for increasing imports and pay our debts.

It is, therefore, imperative that we should not be unmindful of the responsibility that lies on our own shoulders for increasing our foreign exchange income. The industrialists and traders owe a special obligation to the country in this effort.

Foreign Exchange Resources

Our foreign exchange resources and tariff and fiscal policies have been so administered as to give incentives and support to the develop-

ment of Pakistan's industry and trade. The nation as a whole has borne the burden of heavy sacrifices for this purpose.

The nation is entitled now to expect a return on its investments in the shape of greater income from exports of manufactured goods of better quality and at competitive prices.

Failure to meet these expectations and to keep prices at reasonable levels for internal consumption cannot but result in resentment in the country against leaders of industry and trade. No Government responsible to the people can afford to ignore such a reaction.

In a smaller or greater measure, however, the responsibility has to be shared by every member of the nation. The volume of our production has to be raised and we must keep down our own consumption in order to leave adequate surplus for sale abroad. The quality of our products must improve constantly. The trade morality of our exporters must be unquestionable.

I am confident that the trading community will realise the importance of good raputation in their own interest and in that of their country. The Government, on its part, will not spare any effort to ensure the maintenance of standards of quality of Pakistani products and the observance of sound business practices.

I see that the subject is on the agenda of the Export Promotion Council. I am looking forward to your recommendations with keen interest. So, the requirement is for the Council, in consultation with the Export Promotion Bureau, to come forward with concrete suggestions as to what the Government and the trade should do in their respective spheres to promote export.

Mere wishful pleading for export is not enough. Binding obligations have to be devised through legislation if necessary for all concerned.

In this connection, I might mention that the Export Promotion Bureau has been given considerable powers now, has been made into an autonomous body and the head of this body has got considerable powers like any other autonomous body.

With the emergence of the Export Promotion Council with it, I think, two very powerful organisations have been fused. I think it will be in your interest and in the interest of the country that you produce ideas and it is up to the head of the Bureau to see that those ideas are pushed, and I can assure you that the Government is very anxious to assist in every conceivable way provided that sound ideas are put forward.

I might also mention that all the heads of the ministries who are concerned with this matter are to see that all possible assistance is given.

So, the machinery has been set up by the Government and it is upto you to see that full use is made of that.

Costs of production of our goods have to be reduced to make our prices competitive. This will necessitate action on many fronts. Government has appointed a high level committee in association with representatives of trade and industry to indentify the item of cost and recommend measures for reducing these costs consistent with the improvement of quality. Manufacturing capacities have to be used to the full extent to produce more. Any attempt to produce less to create conditions of scarcity to keep up prices, has to go.

Technique of International Trade

Our business community has to learn the technique of international trade. This has always been a highly specialized field. Countries that have developed their trade to a high degree have found by experience that the skill of selling goods abroad calls for agencies wholly devoted to it.

Export Houses in those countries have become the main vehicles of foreign trade and have established their value beyond doubt. I am anxious to see the emergence in our country of similar Export Houses. Here, too, the need is to come forward with concrete suggestions.

I should like to see also the increasing participation of the smaller businessmen in our export trade. This will broaden the base of social prosperity, bring the issues of foreign trade nearer to the general public and foster the growth of our exports with the greater industriousness, initiative and resourcefulness which are characteristics of the smaller businessman seeking to improve his income. The point is to devise ways and means to let the small man have a look in.

Correct and continuous surveys of the demand for our products in foreign countries and cultivation of markets abroad are essential for building up the export trade. The resources of Government and private enterprise must be brought together to achieve the maximum results in this field.

My Government has, accordingly, decided to constitute an Export Market Development Fund which will be administered by representatives of Government and trade and industry jointly. Government will make

an appropriate contribution to this Fund. The business community must also make substantial contributions.

The resources of the Fund will be used to supplement and assist the initiative and effort of businessmen and their representative organisations for promotion of exports.

Removal of Controls

Consistent with the larger social and economic objective of Pakistan, it seems to be desirable that private enterprise should have freedom from unnecessary controls to enable it to become competitive in international markets.

A large number of controls in the economic field have already been removed and import controls have been relaxed considerably.

Government will continue to work further, particularly towards the abolition of controls which are found to impede the progress of our export trade. Any fresh ideas in this respect would be most welcome.

There are a host of other matters which need to be attended to for building our export trade on sound lines. I trust that in this task the Bureau will be imaginative and aggressive and will have the full co-operation of every organisation and individual concerned with the various aspects of the promotion of exports.

It is important that all these problems are examined in detail and with the object of finding constructive, practicable solutions. Speed in decisions and action is imperative for success in foreign competition. It is only then that the Bureau and the Council will justify its existence.

Foreign trade is a challenging task specially to new-comers like us, and at the same time vital. Let us see what you can do to meet this challenge. I and the country would be watching your progress with the greatest of interest.

(Speech on the occasion of inauguration of the 1st meeting of the Export Promotion Council held at Karachi, January 30, 1965).

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank again those who sent me, throughout the last month, messages of congratulations and good wishes on my re-election as President. I know that, apart from those who voted for me or wrote to me, there are countless others who worked or prayed for my success. I am deeply grateful to them all. May God bless them.

I feel that those who voted for me, voted for the stability and progress of Pakistan, and that they would like to strengthen my hands to carry out the tasks they have entrusted to me. If so, I hope that they would, in the coming elections to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies, vote for people who stand for the continuance and furtherance of the stability and progress of the last few years.

No nation can progress unless it learns to place the national interest above lesser interests. Personal or factional considerations, local rivalries or enmities, and other factors must yield to the higher interests of the country and the nation. Similarly we should not let our judgement be swayed by slogans, rumours or false propaganda. Judge people by their actions and not by their words.

In any case, we would not have a repetition of the campaign of misrepresentation, vilification and hatred whipped up in the recent election. They have no place in a truly civilized society least of all in an Islamic Society. The holy month of Ramazan, through which we are passing, is the month of special effort at self-purification, according to the Holy Quran. The end of that month is, therefore, a good occa-

sion for self-examination and introspection. Have we purified our hearts of petty-mindedness, rancour and hatred? If we have, let not these evils re-enter and pollute our hearts again. If there is any trace left of them, let us wipe it off before the blessed month is over in the next day or two. It is only then that the fraternal embrace on Eid day will have any meaning.

Let the coming elections to the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies be conducted in a cleaner way. There is no harm in an honest difference of opinion and in supporting the man you think would best serve the interests of Pakistan. But as each voter and each party thinks that they should have the freedom to vote for the best men, similarly they should concede that freedom to others. If so, where is the justification for intimidation through personal threats or public demonstrations? Intimidation is a negation of democracy. And if persisted in, intimidation leads to counter-intimidation which may eventually lead to civil war. Democratic institutions, like elections, are meant to prevent civil war.

We had a glimpse of things getting out of control in Karachi, although as an aftermath of the last election. It made me extremely unhappy and sad, particularly for those who suffered. I do hope that the truth will come out in the inquiry now underway. And people can rest assure that the law will take its course.

Another evil to get rid of is corruption. That it does prevail, particularly in certain sections of the public services, cannot be denied. But it does not seem correct to say that it is more now than before. Whatever the extent, we have to tackle this problem. The laws and measures against corruption are constantly under review in order to improve them. There are special anti-corruption forces under the Central and Provincial Governments. But all the laws, measures and forces are unable to prevent corruption. Why? The reason is obvious. The lure of money is irresistible to most, and greed for wealth insatiable, except for those who are blessed with contentment. Only the fear of God can prevent a man from making illegal money. That fear exists only among those who have a living faith in God.

Those not out to make illegal gains are tempted by those who are. Public servants often go wrong because one party or the other involved in a case before them takes the initiative in offering money. So those who offer money by way of bribe are as much to blame as those who demand it.

This baffling problem has constantly engaged the Government's

attention. I now feel that perhaps it may help if the occasions on which power or authority is exercised are reduced as far as practicable. For it is only in the exercise of power or authority that money can be made or offered. We cannot do away with all such occasions as that would mean the disappearance of all Government or authority and lead to anarchy and lawlessness which would mean the end of civilized society. But we should certainly consider doing away with *avoidable*, I repeat *avoidable*, procedures, forms and official interference. This would require a very thorough examination of the laws, rules, procedures, forms etc. in the Central and Provincial Governments and all public offices. It would take considerable time and I would, therefore, advise patience in awaiting results. After all, corruption is as old as humanity itself, and all attempts through history to prevent corruption have failed or only partially succeeded. The ingenuity of those out to make money finds new ways and means of taking it if the existing ways are blocked. But we must go on fighting the evil. I have asked for an examination on the lines mentioned earlier and I expect that it would lead to some improvement. But the real solution lies in the moral and religious fields.

I should not pass on from this topic without paying a public tribute to the large number of public servants who are honest even though some of them are poor. They put up with hardships for themselves and their families but do not fall a prey to temptation. They deserve the nation's deepest gratitude.

I am also conscious of the strain of rising prices about which complaints continue to be made in various parts of the country. As I mentioned briefly in an earlier broadcast, rising prices are an inevitable feature of a developing economy. As every student of economics knows, heavy expenditures on development pump lot of money into circulation which leads to some measure of inflation. During the growth period, production always takes time to catch up with the demands and expectations of the consumer. The rate at which expectations rise far exceeds the rate of actual production for the simple reason that it takes time to build up an adequate economic infrastructure and to set up enough productive units.

There are no physical restrictions on human expectations, while production and growth are governed by certain physical and material limitations. However, there are certain demands of the consumers which are basic and immediate. We have already enlarged our imports to increase the supply of consumer goods. The problems which affect

the life of the common man are of primary concern to our Government and we are currently reviewing the price situation to devise appropriate remedial measures. But those in trade and industry must also place the public welfare above their own. And those in money must not spend unnecessarily.

It is worth remembering that prices are rising in all countries. And we have to be grateful to Providence that our prices are still among the lowest in the world.

We also have to be grateful that our development and progress are, by the grace of Allah, phenomenal. And let us not forget that it is due to the political and economic stability of the last few years. Given full support in the legislatures and elsewhere, I propose to use the coming years for the fulfilment of the pledges I gave in my election Manifesto. As you would have observed, I have asked the Central and Provincial Governments, as well as the Planning Commission, to undertake an immediate study of the Manifesto, and to frame proposals for the expeditious and effective implementation of all that I had undertaken to do. I hope to discuss this matter further in a Governors' Conference where matters which concern the Central and Provincial Governments jointly are discuessd and settled.

I cannot close this address without referring to our disappointment with the Indian response to the hand of friendship and goodwill we had offered to that country in her hour of sorrow and distress on the death of Mr. Nehru. I had hoped that the new Indian leadership might take a fresh look at the relations between our two countries to the mutual advantage of both. I regret to say that I see no sign of it so far.

On the other hand, I see fresh attempts at the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India. Every such step further complicates the problem of Kashmir and reduces the chances of its peaceful solution. If the forcible occupation of the State with armed might made no difference to the situation, how can the recent extension of certain legal provisions make any? We do not recognise it. Nor does the world opinion recognise it. Persistence in those futile attempts rightly exasperates the direct victims of the provocation, namely, the people of Jammu and Kashmir. They have reacted strongly, with the result that another wave of repression has been let loose on them. Even that would not help, as past repressions did not.

Why don't those responsible for these decisions realise that if the people of Jammu and Kashmir are not reconciled with the Indian occupation of their state, inspite of the cajolements of the last 17 years, it is

no use trying to keep them with her against their will. A peaceful solution of the dispute which the people of Jammu and Kashmir, the people of Pakistan and in fact the people of the world hope for is not found, the final solution will mean a greater loss of India. Why does she forget the lesson of history?

With this I end.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation, February 1, 1965).

RESURGENCE OF FRENCH ECONOMY : A LESSON FOR PAKISTAN

Mr. Prime Minister,

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you amongst us this evening and to extend on behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan, and on my own behalf, a very warm welcome to you, to Madame Pompidou, and to Foreign Minister Couve de Murville and your other distinguished countrymen who are here with you. We are particularly happy that Madame Pompidou has been able to accompany you on this visit to Pakistan.

We, in this country, cherish warm sentiments for the people of France whose history is in a large measure the history of Europe. Their contribution to European culture and civilization is unique. The courage and resilience of the French people has at all times been outstanding.

We have watched with close interest the impressive resurgence of French economy after it had been shattered during the last war, and we have studied with admiration the courageous measures adopted by your country under the leadership of General de Gaulle to re-establish the true image of France. Under his guidance the difficult task of decolonisation has been successfully accomplished in magnificent manner in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples. Prosperity, economic development and cultural progress have been the fruits of the political stability he has established in his country.

We, in Pakistan today, are engaged in laying the foundations on which the edifice of the future prosperity of our people will be built.

We have an ideology of our own. But there are many lessons we can learn from your achievements. One hundred million Pakistanis are today moving with a resolute will to raise their standard of living to the level achieved by the more developed nations. What we need most is peace in the world and freedom from tensions so that we can devote all our energies to the great and exciting task of nation-building. Our efforts have been, and will always be, directed towards the preservation of world peace and the elimination of tensions between nations. It is only thus that we can bend ourselves to the great national tasks that lie ahead and dedicate all our energies and resources to the building of a prosperous Pakistan. We covet nothing from others. Our own country may not be so well-off in other respects but it is, by the grace of God, rich in human material and goodwill. What we expect from other countries also is goodwill and understanding on which alone can world peace and the brotherhood of man be founded.

I hope, Mr. Prime Minister, that during your all too brief a stay here you will be able to see something of the results of the endeavours of our people to develop our economy. I hope you will also find that there is among the people of Pakistan great friendship for the people of France and admiration for their achievements under the able guidance of your illustrious President.

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen : I request you to join me in a toast to the good health and happiness of President de Gaulle and the people of France.

(Speech at a dinner in honour of Mr. Georges Pompidou, Prime Minister of France, at Rawalpindi, February 5, 1965).

SYNTHESIS OF CULTURES AND CIVILIZATIONS : PRIME NEED OF NATIONS OF AFRICA AND ASIA

Mr. Governor, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I consider it both a privilege and a pleasure to address this galaxy of writers, artists and intellectuals from the two great continents of Africa and Asia.

I would like to use this opportunity to present to you, for deliberation, certain ideas and thoughts as one who has been called upon to grapple with problems some of which are common to almost all emerging nations of Africa and Asia.

Aftermath of World War II

The end of the Second World War witnessed an upsurge of humanity engaged in a desperate struggle to rid itself of foreign domination. Throughout the length and breadth of Africa and Asia nationalist movements generated among the people, a massive resistance to subjugation and overwhelming determination to wrest freedom from alien hands. The hold of colonial powers began to weaken and finally gave way. As the march of people started, the victorious echo of their footsteps travelled from country to country each emerging as a sovereign state holding aloft the banner of liberty. There are still a few ramparts of colonialism which have yet to be demolished : their transient existence serves only to remind us of an age which is dead and gone.

Meanwhile, those who have been able to secure their inalienable right to freedom still continue to pay the heavy toll which a long period

of servitude, inevitably, imposes on people. They have yet to fill the void in various spheres of life that colonialism has left in its wake. The struggle for freedom for them is, no doubt, over. But there is still another struggle—and perhaps a harder one—ahead of them. This is the struggle to guard closely their hard-won freedom and to protect it from the insidious threat of cultural and intellectual subservience.

Legacy of Colonialism

What use we make of our freedom will depend primarily on how we conduct ourselves in the realm of thought and intellect, for it is ideas which generate action leading to progress. Colonialism has bequeathed to us a formidable legacy of problems which we must face and resolve. This requires that we should channelise our emotional impulses into purposeful and constructive endeavours. Years of toil and perseverance, of restraint and privation, lie ahead of us. The problems of poverty, hunger, disease, and illiteracy cannot be resolved by the magic wand of freedom alone. We must carry out a pragmatic probe into our social, economic, political and religious problems : and find an answer to each of these problems based on realism. Each people have their own genius and their own destiny to fulfil. But there are certain human values and principles which are universal and which bind humanity together.

Many of us are new and emerging nations only in a technical sense. Our cultures and civilizations date back to times immemorial and have, in them, good as well as bad elements. To this have also been added both wholesome and unwholesome legacies left behind by foreign domination.

Western Civilization

Those among us who lay claim to ancient civilizations are sometimes under the illusion that the lure of Western civilization, based on science and technology, can be resisted by burying their heads like the ostrich in the sands of their past. The ease with which ideas and human beings travel these days makes it still more difficult to shut one's self in. No country can now remain aloof from world currents. And there is no reason why it should not take whatever is good, from wherever available, rejecting that which is unwholesome.

Synthesis of Civilizations

It is in our own interest that we identify and retain the basic elements of our culture and civilization, and bring about a synthesis between them and such progressive elements as are offered by other civilizations. It is only by effecting such a synthesis that we can retain our individuality and character and yet prepare our people to enter the age of science and technology which will enable us to retain our freedom, to raise the standard of living of our people and to provide them with a full and satisfying life free from physical want and mental stagnation.

It is easier to swing to extremes than to find and retain the happy medium. Those who want to live in the past are sometimes averse to the pain of adopting new ideas, it is common human nature. The birth of new ideas or patterns is accompanied by pangs as much as the birth of a child. On the other hand, those who shun their past completely, do not wish to swim upstream. They find it easier to float with the current. The emerging nations have to think and act independently as much as to retain their independent existence.

Challenge of Scientific Age

It is particularly in the sphere of religion that the process of adjustment to the scientific and technological age presents a serious problem. Most religions have tended to be shrouded in formalism and dogma, and their exponents have frowned upon attempts to face the challenge of the scientific age. This has led to growing irreligion among the younger generation. I am no expert on religion. But it is my firm belief that the basic principles of religion are immutable and constant : they cannot be changed, and should not be changed. But the application of these principles must conform to the demands of changing circumstances. This is the only way to prevent religion from losing its hold and for its followers to keep pace with progress and advancement.

Traditionalism

Even otherwise, human beings by nature are traditionalists. And, perhaps, it is good up to a point that they are so: for it helps them to maintain a touch with the past so as to deal with the present and prepare for the future. But traditionalism is of two kinds. One kind of traditionalism is that which is born on inertia and bred by timidity.

The other kind is that which is based upon the consciousness that it is conducive to a better way of life. It is the first kind of traditionalism against which we have to guard ourselves: for it is essentially the product of human resistance to the use of the faculty of thought. While it is this faculty of thinking that distinguishes man from other forms of animals, it is curious that most human beings are loathe to use it. That is why we witness the spectacle, throughout human history, that those who have dared to think originally, have invariably roused opposition from fellow human beings and have been assailed by inveterate objectors. They have been subjected to virulent criticism and regarded as heretics. Long afterwards, most of them came to be venerated if their contribution to human history was positive and useful. The meaning is this: let us worship our thinkers now when they are alive and make use of their talents.

Progress Through Peace

The emotional upsurge of the newly emerging nations to consolidate their independence and to find their true place in life cannot succeed unless there is a sustained period of peace. For it is only in an atmosphere of peace, free from turmoil and conflict, that they can catch up with the time they have lost during their subjugation by alien rulers. The growing tension between the developing nations and the major world powers, and between small countries and their big neighbours, continues to pose a serious threat to world peace. This threat provides at once a challenge and an opportunity to the United Nations, if it was permitted to perform its designed function.

Future of UN

All of us are deeply concerned over the future of the United Nations as an institution designed to the lessening of tensions in the world. In spite of its many limitations, and we in Pakistan have suffered on account of those, the United Nations continues to serve as a forum for the smaller nations to express their points of view in an endeavour to influence world opinion. It is to be hoped that his organisation will yet be saved to pursue, more effectively, its objective of maintaining world peace and goodwill.

If this organisation were to disintegrate, the major powers will

quickly adjust themselves to the new situation : it is the voice of smaller nations which will be lost in wilderness.

It is my fervent hope that this seminar, organised by the Pakistan Thinkers' Forum, which has brought so many thinking people together, will prove a landmark in our intellectual awakening, pragmatic and original, and that it will promote better understanding and goodwill among our people leading to their happiness and progress.

I thank you for listening to my thoughts and hope that they will be of some use to you.

(Inaugural speech at Africasian Seminar on Art, Literature and Culture organised by the Thinkers' Forum at Lahore, February 10, 1965).

BURMA AND PAKISTAN : BOUND BY TIES OF ASIAN SOLIDARITY

Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen :

It is a matter of deep satisfaction and pleasure for us to have, as our honoured guest today, the distinguished President of a country with whom the people of Pakistan share many close ties, bonds of mutual sympathy, friendly co-operation, and good neighbourliness. This happy state of affairs is in no small measure based on a common historical past, cultural traditions and ties of Asian solidarity.

Burma and Pakistan achieved freedom about the same time and both are faced with the difficult and challenging task of relieving their peoples of the banes of illiteracy, poverty and disease. Our peoples must also, in terms of their own genius, evolve suitable institutions which would enable them to find satisfaction, stability and strength in their own destined role in world history. Mr. President, let me assure you that we have watched with special interest your Government's efforts to organize the economic and social future of your people. We are also engaged in a similar endeavour in a somewhat different way, and we are confident that our mutual understanding and co-operation will continue to strengthen the cause of closer friendship between our nations.

Your Excellency, we are witnessing the end of that particular pattern of the cold war with which the world has hitherto become only too familiar. Yet the world is in the midst of a flux and the cause of world peace continues to remain in the balance. It is in Asia particularly that peace is today troubled by unresolved tensions, disputes and dissensions. It is in Asia that dangers are beginning to loom large,

threatening to divert our resources and the energies of our peoples from the tasks of development and regeneration into the dangerous path of military confrontation.

The cause of world peace cannot be assured unless there is a peaceful settlement of outstanding disputes afflicting Asia. For too long have the nations of this vast and ancient continent been the playthings of forces beyond their control. There can be no peace in the world if Asia is in turmoil, and there can be no tranquillity in Asia if the nations of Asia do not show willingness to settle their disputes in justice and peace.

Excellency, your visit, I am confident, will greatly strengthen the friendship between our two countries. Our common goals of economic and social development, of peace, of a world order based on law and justice provide great scope for a fruitful and sincere partnership between us. With your help, Excellency, I am sure, this bond between our two countries will endure.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, may I request you now to join me in a toast to the health, happiness and long life of His Excellency the President of Burma and to the progress and prosperity of the people of Burma.

(Speech at a banquet in honour of General Ne Win, President of Burma, at Lahore, February 12, 1965).

AVOID CEREMONIAL ARCHES AND DECORATIONS : APPEAL TO PEOPLE

When I am on tour, a number of my countrymen show their affection for me by garlanding me or putting up arches and decorations. While I appreciate this kind of gesture, I would much rather prefer that this money was spent on the poor of the locality. To me, seeing and meeting my countrymen is sufficient reward. I would therefore, appreciate if no garlands or arches greet me in future. It is, however, a different matter when a foreign dignitary is visiting us.

(*Statement*, *February* 18, 1965).

DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRY WITH PEOPLE'S SAVINGS : AIM OF GOVERNMENT

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen :

It gives me great pleasure to be here today to inaugurate the Keamari installations of the Pakistan National Oils Limited. I thank you Mr. Chairman for your felicitations on my re-election and the kind words that you have spoken about me and my Government.

Pace of Development

One can derive some satisfaction from the rapid increase in the consumption of petroleum and oil products, indicative as it is of the fast pace at which the country's economy is developing. At the same time, one cannot be unmindful of the drain that large scale imports of petroleum and oil products impose on the foreign exchange resources of the country. Today we are barely producing 15 per cent of the country's requirements of crude oil. For the balance, we are dependent upon imports. We have been making strenuous efforts to find oil in the country. Besides partnering foreign oil companies in the quest for oil, we have established an Oil & Gas Development Corporation in the public sector to supplement the efforts of private companies. The Corporation has started drilling, both in East and West Pakistan, and we look forward to the day when it strikes oil in adequate quantities. We had high hopes of finding oil in the off-shore area of Karachi. The structure looked promising. So far, the three wells drilled by the Sun Oil Company have turned out to be dry. We are even looking for opportuni-

ties of undertaking exploration for oil in the oil-rich countries of the Middle East in collaboration with foreign oil interests and national oil companies of the countries concerned.

Oil Products

We are spending something like Rs. 25 crores a year on the import of petroleum and oil products. While the search for oil continues, we have been looking for ways and means of reducing our import bill. One obvious way of doing it is the substitution of finished products by the import of crude oil to be processed in the country. The expanded capacity of the Pakistan Refinery at Karachi, which now stands at 2.4 million tons per annum, is in full production. Work on the National Refinery, also in this city, for the production of bitumen and lubricants, is in full swing and it should go into production in a year from now. With the acquisition of land, work on the Chittagong Refinery is now gathering momentum. It will be processing one million tons of crude oil per annum. Schemes for the expansion of both the National and Chittagong Refineries are under preparation.

My Government has been conscious of the need for increased Pakistani participation in the distribution and marketing trade of the country. The sanction accorded to Pakistan National Oils Ltd., in 1961 to set up a marketing company was a step in this direction. I am glad to learn that your company has, in the short period of its existence, established terminal, storage and distribution facilities in both parts of the country and that depots and dispensing outlets are being arranged in all important centres of consumption. It is indeed commendable that this elaborate installation was brought into being in a short time and that Pakistani engineers and technicians made a substantial contribution in its erection.

Foreign Exchange Savings

I have noted with satisfaction that your company has started its career by winning the right to arrange the import of petroleum products in competition with the established suppliers. Your efforts will result in a substantial saving of foreign exchange and a sizeable accretion to the Development Surcharge.

I am particularly pleased to learn that foreign oil companies are extending their fullest co-operation in handling the distribution of

petroleum products imported through your company. I hope that adjustments in the distribution pattern, resulting from the entry of your company in this field, will be smooth and orderly and there will be no interruption in supplies.

Ownership of Industries

One of the objectives of my Government's policies in the industrial field is that the ownership of industries should be as broad-based as possible. Your Company's success in attracting as many as 10,000 investors is very welcome. It augurs well for the future development of the country. Our people are becoming more and more investment conscious and have started putting their savings in industrial enterprises. Industries are not built with the wealth of a few. It is the savings of the many that provide the bulk of the capital. Government continues to encourage thrift by giving tax concessions on investments in approved undertakings because we want to develop the country with the people's savings and not with created money.

I have now great pleasure in inaugurating this Installation and wish it success.

(Speech on the occasion of inauguration of National Oil Refinery, Karachi, February 21, 1965).

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

Nearly 1,400 years ago, when mankind was divided by uncrossable deserts, insurmountable mountains and uncharted seas, it was revealed in the Holy Quran that humanity was destined to become one under one God. Many more centuries may pass before that comes about. But we already see signs of growing human equality and fraternity. We see the distances being annihilated. The uncrossable deserts, mountains and seas present no obstacles now. Mankind is coming closer and becoming fast integrated. The affairs of one people are now the concern of all. No nation can any longer live or prosper in isolation.

In these circumstances it has now become commonplace for traders, industrialists, officials as well as non-officials, and now even the intellectuals, to get out of their chairs and limited horizons, to fly to all parts of the world to confer with others similarly inclined, and to work together as if they all belonged to a family. The same consciousness and circumstances led to the creation of the United Nations. That is why I have emphasised more than once that without such a world body, the affairs of mankind can no longer be sorted out. We cannot go back to the Middle Ages or to the law of the jungle. As each man must put the interest of his nation above his own, so must each nation put the interest of mankind above its own.

As a part of the growing inter-relationship and greater affinity between various branches of mankind, it has become necessary for heads of states and heads of governments to visit one another, in spite of their heavy pre-occupations at home, so that world peace, which is indivisi-

ble, is maintained and promoted, and world prosperity, which is again indivisible, is given its proper balance and proportion.

We had a number of distinguished world leaders visiting us during the last month. The visit of the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of France showed how much common ground we had with that great country and what could be done to promote economic collaboration between our nations. Similarly, our old and steadfast friend, His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran is always a welcome visitor. Our ties with Iran are ancient and historically pleasant. I hope and pray to God that they would grow further and that the Regional Co-operation for Development would give material shape to our emotional affinity with the historical nations of Iran and Turkey.

Another welcome visitor was General Ne Win, the Head of the Burmese Revolutionary Council. We had frank and pleasant discussions. And we could not help being attracted by the informality and pleasant ways of General Ne Win, Madam Ne Win and other members of the party. We look forward to an era of mutual understanding and goodwill with our eastern neighbour.

Dr. Subandrio, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, is another old friend whose visit, apart from the exchange of ideas, would hasten an understanding with the great country of Indonesia on lines similar to the Regional Co-operation for Development.

There were other distinguished visitors too, not the least welcome of which were the intellectuals who gathered in Lahore recently in response to the invitation of the Pakistan Thinkers' Forum. They came from several countries of Africa and Asia. We hope that this novel experiment would not be the last of its kind. The intellectuals have a great role to play in this age of supremacy of human intellect, as indicated in the incredible progress in scientific and technological fields. There is, however, need for the same supremacy of human intellect over human emotions and the baser desires of human nature.

Talking about international goodwill, I leave tomorrow for China in response to the invitation of the Chairman and the Premier of the Peoples Republic of China. The Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, has already visited us twice. Our people have welcomed the restoration of normal and friendly relations with our great neighbour. And this is as it should be with all neighbours. So far as we are concerned, we have done our best to win the confidence and goodwill of our neighbouring countries. If we have not succeeded in the case of India, it is due not to lack of trying and patience on our part. Unfortunately,

India has not realized the virtue of living at peace with us on equal and honourable terms. Disappointments during the last 17 years do not, however, make me lose hope. I cannot help feeling that sooner or later circumstances will force India to recognise the necessity of coming to honourable terms with us, and to settle the Kashmir problem to the satisfaction of all parties to the dispute. Similarly, the persecution and eviction of the Indian Muslims is a blot on the face of India. And the sooner its hideousness is realised, the better for the peace of this sub-continent. The arms build-up going on in India is not the way of peace.

At home, we are entering yet another phase of the elections. The candidates for the National Assembly have entered the contest. I hope, and I am sure that all good and patriotic Pakistanis expect, that their chosen and trusted representatives will elect only those members to the supreme legislature who intend to work for the integration, strength and progress of Pakistan. Free and fair elections are a great challenge to the good sense and maturity of a people. I have no doubt that the electoral college will acquit itself honourably to its own credit and to the continued stability and progress of Pakistan.

In spite of the allegations made by those who lost the elections to the Basic Democracies and to the office of the President, the last elections have been described as free and fair by all impartial observers. This is highly gratifying since it was the first time that nation-wide elections, based on adult franchise, had been held in our country. Appeals had been made to emotions rather than to reason, to theory rather than to practical considerations and to prejudices rather than to fairness. There was a spate of rumours which did no credit to those who engineered them or those who believed in them. Luckily, the majority of the people kept their heads cool and decided to go along the known path of stability and progress. I am sure that the voters will again show their full sense of responsibility in the coming elections.

One thing I must emphasise. Elections are not an end in themselves. They are merely a mechanism to choose a sound and stable Government representative of the will of the people and responsive to their needs. The people have shown, in unmistakable terms in the last two elections, that they want unity, stability and progress. These virtues are required in a greater measure in future than before. Look at the magnitude of the national progress envisaged in the Third Five-Year Plan, which contemplates an outlay nearly double that of the Second Plan. Rs. 5,200 crores are to be invested in national development. How can such an objective be achieved unless we have a stable, purpose-

ful and strong Government? I repeat what I have been saying so often that, apart from other considerations, the survival of Pakistan depends on the establishment of Muslim nationalism and a strong Centre. This is the lesson and dictate of the history of the Muslims in this sub-continent. So it is in that light that I ask the voters to strengthen my hands in future by electing people who subscribe to my policies. It is only then that I can discharge my duties towards you.

I have referred to the heavy programme of economic development. It is often alleged in this connection that enough incentives are not being provided to the common man to derive full benefit from the economic and industrial progress of the country. It is a pity that it has not been made more commonly known that the main anxiety of the Government has been to make economic progress as broad-based as possible. What is given for industrial development in the private sector is only a small percentage of 10 to 15 per cent of the total outlay on national development. The rest of the expenditure, mostly in the public sector, is spent on public works and services meant for the welfare of the common man and of the nation as a whole.

In the industrial field, which is a special target of criticism, a number of steps have been taken by my Government to encourage people with limited means to set up industries. I will quote only a few instances.

A provision of rupees fifty cores was made in the Second Five-Year Plan for small and medium-sized industries. A separate Investment Schedule, exclusively for small industries in the private sector, was issued in 1961 to facilitate those wanting to invest in modest enterprises.

Nine Industrial Estates for small and medium-sized industries have been sanctioned for West Pakistan, and as many as 19 for East Pakistan. Six of these estates have been completed. Common facility centres and advisory services will be established in these estates to help the small entrepreneurs. The Small Industries Organization has been asked to increase marketing facilities, and sales and display centres, to assist the marketing of the products of small industries. It has also prepred a portfolio of ready-made schemes to help the new industrialists.

My Government realise that what the man of modest means requires most is financial assistance, in local and foreign currencies, to set up an industry. In this connection some of the measures adopted may not be known generally. The Industrial Development Bank, set up in 1961 for financial assistance to small and medium industries, has

sanctioned loans in 1420 cases out of 1724 applications received. Similarly, the recently established Peoples' Credit Department provided credit worth Rs. 9.4 crores to ten thousand applicants upto April, 1964. The Central Government made special allocations to the two provinces, totalling rupees fifteen and a half crores during the last three years, for sanctioning small and medium-sized industries.

In the way of practical help, Government has established the Facilities Boards in Karachi, Dacca and Lahore to help the budding industrialists to get land, water, power, gas, etc., easily. The Pakistan Industrial Technical Assistance Centre, the Pakistan Investment Advisory Centre and the various institutes of technology have been set up to provide advice, training and assistance to small entrepreneurs.

To secure the greater participation of the common man even in the larger industrial enterprises some important measures have been taken. The establishment of public limited companies is encouraged by the imposition of differential rates of corporate taxes on public and private companies. In all capital issues, Government insist on general public participation to the extent of 50 per cent of the issued capital including 25 per cent for the National Investment Trust. I would like the people to take greater advantage of this Trust set up specifically to enable the ordinary people to buy shares in bigger enterprises. Applicants upto one hundred shares are generally allotted all the shares applied for. The balance is distributed among other applicants at a flat rate. In the case of sugar mills, preference is given to the cultivators of sugar-cane in the allotment of shares to the extent of 40 per cent.

The Industrial Development Corporations are obliged under their charter to disinvest from their undertakings at the earliest opportune time. While doing so they have been advised to offer the bulk of these shares to the general public, giving preference to small investors.

To encourage savings for investment in industrial undertakings, a rebate of 20 per cent of income, subject to a maximum of Rs. 12,000, has been allowed on investments in approved undertakings.

In addition to all these measures, an anti-cartel study group has been set up with the object of preventing the concentration of wealth in a few hands and of devising policies which would help the small investors and the common man.

I mention all this merely to emphasise the objectives towards which my Government is moving. Pakistan's economic soundness and welfare depend upon the well-being of all and not that of a few. But each class of our society has its own role and value which must not be lost

sight of. Let us all work together, placing the interests of the country and of the people as a whole above personal and individual benefits.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation, March 1, 1965).

ACQUIRE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION: MESSAGE TO AFRICAN-ASIAN ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

On my behalf and on behalf of my countrymen, please accept our warmest greetings and best wishes for all the distinguished delegates attending the African-Asian Conference.

The emerging nations of Asia and Africa stand at the cross-roads of history. They have shaken off the chains of foreign domination and colonialism. They are now struggling for their economic emancipation. For this purpose, they must acquire scientific and technological education. Only then would they be able to hold their own with the more advanced nations of the world.

I do not, however, advocate that we follow in the footsteps of the advanced nations in all respects. We know that many of them have come to grief in the spiritual and moral fields. Remember the saying of the Holy Prophet : "Take what is clean ; abstain from that which is unclean."

Each one of us has our own cultural background based on the high principles of Islam. Ours is the only religion which claims to have come for the whole of mankind. Its principles are universal. Its truths are eternal. But the circumstances of each people and each age differ. That is why our religion has laid down certain immutable principles and has left their interpretation and application to be determined by the process of reasoning, so long as the reasoning does not go contrary to the basic concepts of Islam. It was because of this freedom to interpret and apply that our great jurists applied their own minds and judgment to produce voluminous literature on Islamic jurisprudence. Similarly, in other matters, the door of "*Ijtehad*" has always been open.

The followers of certain other religions gave up their faith when it could not be reconciled with the changing times and conditions. Let not that happen to the Muslim world. If other religions could not meet the challenge of the present-day Islam certainly can, because it is the final and complete religion meant for all peoples and all times. What is required is that its immutable principles should be interpreted and applied in the light of the present day conditions.

There is already an awakening in this respect in certain quarters. But there is need to adjust ourselves quickly before irreligion overcomes our youth. Let us give our children not only the latest scientific and technological education but also the most up-to-date religious and moral teachings enshrined in Islam.

I wish you all success in your important deliberations.

(Message to the African-Asian Conference held in Indonesia, March 5, 1965).

TALKS WITH CHINESE LEADERS : MUTUALLY PROFITABLE

I have just returned after spending eight very pleasant and busy days in China. I am glad I was able to return Premier Chou En-lai's visit to Pakistan.

I am extremely thankful to the leaders and the people of China for the overwhelming reception which they gave us and for their warm hospitality throughout our stay in China. This is a tribute to Pakistan and to the people of Pakistan. I was moved by the warmth and understanding shown by the Chinese leaders and the Chinese people.

Common Understanding

Pakistan and China are close neighbours. In the past, they have had a great deal of contact with each other. The process of normalisation of our relations with all our neighbours has enabled us to re-establish this contact. I have no doubt that this contact will create a growing area of better understanding of each other's point of view. This visit has undoubtedly helped to strengthen our common understanding.

We visited Peking, Hangchow and Shanghai. We had an opportunity to see industrial products and to witness the development and progress of the agricultural programme in different parts of China. I was impressed by the progress which China has made during the last few years and I hope that with continued effort they will be able to achieve the targets which they have set for themselves.

Our talks with the Chinese leaders which covered the whole

range of international problems, in particular the problems of Asia and other areas of tension, proved fruitful and mutually profitable.

I was able to exchange views with Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Chao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai. We exchanged our respective assessment and appraisal of the world situation. Such an exchange is always useful and leads to a more sympathetic appreciation of different points of views. In the present context, talks are all the more useful because it is only through these that the world, which is torn by conflicts and misunderstandings, can become a happier and a more peaceful place to live in.

Joint Communique

The joint communique issued on the conclusion of the talks is self-explanatory. It takes into account all points of common agreement and each other's position on vital issues.

The reaffirmation by the Chinese leaders of their position in regard to Jammu and Kashmir dispute should be a matter of gratification for all of us. The Chinese believe that this dispute should be solved without delay by ascertaining the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir as has been pledged to them by India and Pakistan. The Chinese position in this matter is just and honourable and we are all thankful to them for upholding the cause of the oppressed people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Our talks on economic matters were equally useful. The Chinese leaders showed interest in the implementation of our Second Five-Year Plan and were impressed by the concepts underlying our Third Plan.

I would like to thank the people of China and the Chinese leaders for their great hospitality. I am sure every Pakistani joins me in this.

(Statement to the Press at Dacca on return from China, March 9, 1965).

RADIO PAKISTAN PROGRAMMES: TO REFLECT SPIRIT OF NEW REFORMS

Mr. Governor, Mr. Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very glad to be here this afternoon to inaugurate the 100 K.W.M.V. Transmitter. I should like to congratulate Radio Pakistan, its Administrators and its Engineers for completing the job on schedule.

I had the opportunity of inspecting Radio Pakistan, Lahore, and I was shocked to know that Lahore had only 5 K.W. Transmitter. As the Minister has mentioned, it was not even possible to get spare parts of such Transmitters. I also had the occasion to see Radio Pakistan, Quetta, which had only 1 K.W. Transmitter. How can you keep your people informed with such meagre facilities?

I am happy that the 100 K.W.M.V. Transmitter for Lahore has come about. I am also looking forward to the day when Television takes roots in Pakistan. The country badly needs such rapid means of informing people.

Our problem today is to keep the intelligentsia in touch with the life of the people. Vocal elements among the intelligentsia do not know the problems of the people. How can they claim to direct and mould the destiny of the people when they know nothing about them?

We badly need effective means of disseminating news and views to remove this cynicism.

It is my belief that of all the mass media of communication, Radio remains the most powerful, particularly in developing countries which are handicapped by low literacy and inadequate means of education. I have recently seen the most powerful demonstration of the effectiveness of this medium in China where the world reaches the people instantaneously throughout the length and breadth of the country, which

is ten times the size of Pakistan. An extensive network has been developed by the Chinese and pressed into the service of the community during the last few years. They have been taking big dividends out of it and the people are responding to the national call.

While I greatly appreciate the work done by Radio Pakistan, due to enthusiastic and devoted team work, I must say that we have still a long way to go. Large areas remain to be serviced and the link between East and West Pakistan has yet to be fully developed. There is also the challenge posed by certain countries which are setting up powerful transmitters near our borders. It is quite clear to me that the answer lies in developing and equally powerful network of medium wave transmission in different parts of the country, while the East and West link can be developed on the short wave. The reason is simple. We need medium wave transmitting system because an average person can easily afford receivers needed for it than the sophisticated ones required for the short wave transmitters.

As a national institution Radio Pakistan should develop an outlook, conviction and faith in the new way of life generated by the reforms introduced during the last few years. It is not enough, I fear, to have occasional programmes explaining the concepts underlying different reforms. What is required is that the entire programme should be inspired by a consciousness of the spirit of the reforms so that the younger generation can identify itself with the new institutions which are being developed in the country for the welfare of the people. Be it music, drama or any other feature programme, it must combine entertainment with education. We have to create good and healthy tastes. Radio Pakistan is in a position to produce such programmes and thus render a signal service to Pakistan.

I trust that the installation of this medium wave transmitter will mark the beginning of the new phase in our Radio programmes—the phase of creating a consciousness and an urge for the unity and development of our people and take pride in things which belong to us.

With these words I have pleasure in inaugurating the new 100 K.W. medium wave transmitter.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(Speech on the occasion of inauguration of 100 K.W. M.W. Transmitter at Lahore, March 11, 1965).

ADOPT NEW TECHNIQUES AND DESIGNS TO ACHIEVE GREATER SUCCESS : ADVICE TO ARTISANS

Mr. Governor, Members of the Organising Committee, Distinguished Artisans, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am happy to associate myself with this national exhibition and to see that so many artisans from different parts of our country have been able to come to Lahore to meet one another and to introduce themselves and their skills and products to the people. To me this presentation of skills by the artisans of Pakistan is an effective way of spreading awareness, at the national level, of regional and local cultures expressed through our traditional crafts.

Most of our national integration exchange programmes are designed to bring together men and women who can communicate with one another through their knowledge of languages. In this exhibition the artisans will be communicating with each other through the skill of their hands which is a common language that brings together all artisans and craftsmen.

I am happy also to be associated with this exhibition soon after my return from China. In that great country the handicraft tradition is somewhat older than our own. But the passage of 5,000 years has not prevented their handicrafts from being regarded as contemporary even today. The reason perhaps is that craftsmen have worked mostly with their own nationally recognized designs and motifs. This continuity and nearness to their own cultural origins has enabled them to give their handicrafts a status that is in no way inferior to that of fine art in their country. In fact, I feel that the influence of traditional craft on fine

art has been strong to prevent the Chinese modern artist from forgetting his original sources of inspiration and getting into something that may turn out to be a blind alley. In Pakistan the link between the artist and the craftsman is not as strong as it should be. Artists are educated while craftsmen mostly uneducated. We should break this barrier and educated people should take to craftsmanship. It is my belief that the closer this link the more fruitful and meaningful will be the products of our artists and craftsmen. This will give them both a feeling of national indentity and to their products a national significance, which will be important not only in the cultural context but even for commercial considerations.

The commercial aspect is important. Apart from its contribution to national understanding, this multi-purpose exhibition also brings into focus the economic aspect. The bulk of our handicrafts are produced in the rural areas where millions of our people are under-employed or unemployed. With improvement in roads, rail and river links, many craftsmen in the outlying areas can now sell their products in the large towns and even to agencies that can export them. What is needed now in the expansion of facilities to develop more designs and to conduct more research into the production techniques. New knowledge and designs should be communicated speedily to all our craftsmen. Along with this, there should be encouragement for the craftsmen to adopt the new techniques and designs. Once the craftsman knows that by using the new techniques and designs and, if necessary, new equipment, he can produce objects which will sell rapidly, he may need no further encouragement.

In the revival and development of any cultural movemnet or consciousness, museums always have a very important role to play. In the context of old arts, I have no doubt in my mind that special museums are a must. The Pakistan Council for National Integration should take up this project as part of its programme to preserve and develop regional cultures within the national context. These museums should be fitted with latest audio-visual equipment, and the displays handled with imagination to give an entirely new meaning to the term 'museum piece'.

I have no doubt that the various suggestions made by Mrs. Kramat in her address will be examined, rather should be examined, in the appropriate Ministries. As suggested by her, some law should be produced to offer protection to craftsmen in the matter of designs. Also, there should be some agencies to take care of the crafts and provide marketing facilities. They were all excellent suggestions. The suggestion about

the President's award for the best craftsman is the easiest to fulfil and I shall certainly do it. I shali look forward to their recommendation. I would like to congratulate her and other members of the Organising Committee who, I can well imagine, must have worked extremely hard to make this impressive venture possible.

With these words, I have great pleasure in formally declaring the exhibition open.

(Speech on the occasion of inauguration of "Artisan At Work" Exhibition at Lahore, March 12, 1965).

REGIONALS ELF-RELIANCE AND INTER-DEPENDENCE: MAIN GOAL OF RCD

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen :

On behalf of the Government and the people of Pakistan, and on my own behalf, I extend to all of you a most hearty and cordial welcome. RCD is very close to my heart and so is the development of Islamabad, our new Capital. It is, therefore, a matter of deep personal satisfaction to me that the first international conference to be held in Islamabad should be that of the RCD.

Islamabad is symbol of our earnest desire to pave the way for a richer life for all sections of our people. RCD represents a regional grouping, bound together by a common cultural heritage, and historical ties, for accelerating the economic growth of the region. Divested of sentimentality and rhetoric, the prime factor in a nation's life is the economic and social welfare. While it is true that man cannot live by bread alone, it is even truer that he cannot live without it, and most political ideologies are motivated by the urge for maximum economic growth and economic welfare of the people. Our three countries are currently engaged in attaining these aims. So, this is our common bond just as faith and destiny is. Also consciousness of history brings us together, despite the vicissitudes of fortune through which we have passed.

It is not long, just about nine months, when His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran, President Cemal Gursel of Turkey and I met in Istanbul and established this organization—the RCD. In the course of nine months, we have made satisfactory progress in implementing decisions in many fields. We should emphasise our cultural ties and we

should be proud of them. In the field of information, we have completed the planning stage and we should now take various measures to project the RCD image both in our own countries as well as elsewhere. I will watch with interest the activities of the Committee on Information which the Regional Planning Council has just established.

Progress of RCD

Some progress has been made in the field of trade. This is indeed heartening. One of the important indices of economic co-operation is the quantum of trade between a group of countries. One appreciates that it is difficult substantially to alter the traditional pattern of trade. But if we are to progress towards our goal of close regional self-reliance and inter dependence, which were amongst the major considerations for establishing the RCD. We must strive to resolve the problems which make such progress possible.

The benefits of RCD cannot be measured purely by materialistic standards. RCD is more than a matter of mere economic gains. We are trying to demonstrate how three sovereign countries can collaborate in many fields in the spirit of understanding and accommodation.

My Government attaches considerable significance to the promotion of joint purpose enterprises. Together the three countries provide a market of about 150 million people and we should exploit this advantage to the maximum benefit of each member country. I would like to commend the work which has been done upto now in this field. I hope the Committees on petro-chemical industries and joint purpose enterprises will achieve success.

It is necessary that while promoting RCD activity in the many fields of our inter ded co-operation, it is imperative that we move at a speed which is the agreed common denominator amongst the three countries. In the fast moving world in which we live today, even simple self-preservation demands a dynamic approach to life's problems and its affairs.

The late Prime Minister Hasan Ali Mansur of Iran, one of the prime movers of the RCD idea, is no longer with us and I grieve for him. It was our loss as much as of Iran. I would like to convey our deepest sorrow and condolences to his brother H.E. Mr. Javad Mansour who is participating in this meeting.

Socio Economic Development

Excellencies, we are trying our very best to promote economic and social development of Pakistan to the maximum extent possible. During the Third Plan period 1965-70, we would be investing some 11 billion dollars, as against an investment of a little half that much, in the last five years. We are also going to utilise our own resources in much longer measure. Percentage-wise, the foreign exchange component of the Third Plan is substantially lower than that of the Second Plan. We want to be a prosperous partner in the RCD and we are proud to be associated with two nations which are both intent on development and progressing fast in this sphere. Turkey is heroic in its great efforts for economic progress. She is destined to succeed. We all follow with interest and admiration the six-point programme for economic and social reforms initiated by His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran, who has also recently initiated an international campaign for the eradication of illiteracy.

Before concluding I would like to thank the distinguished delegates from Iran and Turkey who have come here to participate in the RCD Ministerial Council meeting. The facilities at Pakistan House at Islamabad are still less adequate than what we would like to provide for our guests. But I hope that the friendly and informal atmosphere at the Pakistan House might in some degree compensate for deficiencies in comfort.

I wish you Godspeed and the best of luck in your deliberations.

(Inaugural address at the second meeting of the Council of Ministers of the R.C.D. held at Islamabad, March 18, 1965).

PROVE EFFECTIVE IN THE DEFENCE OF YOUR COUNTRY : CALL TO ARMED FORCES

Brother soldiers : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I am happy to be here to take the salute at the Parade of the National Armed Forces on the occasion of Pakistan Day. His Royal Highness Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, is also in our midst on this auspicious occasion and I would request him on behalf of all of you to convey our message of good wishes to Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom.

The Foreign Minister of Iran is also fortunately present here. Through him, we send our greetings to His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran and our Irani brethren. The Turkish delegation wa also here a few days ago. I also take this opportunity of sending a message of goodwill to our Turkish brethren on behalf of all of us.

I congratulate all of you on the soldierly bearing and smart turnout of the Parade. This Parade is an excellent example of the spirit of co-operation existing between the three Services.

As you all know, the policy of your Government has always been to live in amity and friendship with all countries of the world, more so with our neighbours. We stand for peaceful solutions of disputes among nations. The latest example of this policy is the peaceful manner in which we successfully concluded the boundary negotiations with our great neighbour, China.

I have recently returned from a visit to China. It was clear from the talks I had with the Chinese leaders that they too desire to live in peace and friendship with other nations.

As you know, our firendly ties with Iran and Turkey have been further strengthened since last year. Pakistan's firendship with other neighbouring countries, including Nepal, has also become more cordial. This is as it should be. But in spite of our best efforts, our disputes with Bharat could not be resolved in a friendly manner. The desire to arrive at a settlement in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation is a pre-requisite for peaceful resolution of disputes among nations. Unfortunately, Bharat has not as yet given any proof of such feelings.

To the contrary, India is fast expanding her military build-up and with the massive military aid, she had become a serious threat to our country. And this threat is assuming more alarming proportions day by day.

Therefore, the Pakistani nation, and particularly the Armed Forces, will have to remain ever on the alert in view of this threat. I am sure the people of Pakistan, and specially our Armed Forces, are aware of this danger and realise their responsibilities.

You have made spectacular progress in your profession over the last few years. I am confident that you will maintain the tempo of progress so that you can prove effective in the defence of your beloved country if such an occasion arises.

May God bless you and help you in the discharge of your duties.

(English rendering of the Address at the Joint Services Parade at Rawalpindi on Pakistan Day, March 23, 1965).

WORK TOGETHER FOR GREATER GLORY OF PAKISTAN : APPEAL TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

On assumption of office as President, my first thoughts are of complete submission to Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful, whom we all serve and to whom we all turn for guidance and protection. May He bless this occasion.

And may He also bless my people and my country with whose charge He has entrusted me. It is a very heavy responsibility, which cannot be discharged without Divine guidance.

And it cannot be discharged without full cooperation and active assistance from those who have the welfare of this country at heart. I shall seek that cooperation from the newly elected Central and Provincial Assemblies, from those associated with me in the Government— be they Ministers or Governors—and from all the public services.

But more than these, I seek it from the people at large. It is their country and their future at stake. As their elected leader, they would naturally expect me to show them the way. That I will not fail to do, with the help of Allah.

The elected representatives of the people have now been associated with the Government, not only at the Central and Provincial levels, but also at all lower levels of the administration, down to the village and the mohalla. My Government would, therefore, be more in touch with the elected representatives of the people than ever before in the history of this sub-continent.

I shall seek co-operation even outside the elected forums, for the nation as a whole has to move. Socio-economic development cannot take place without a national effort. There is a stiff climb ahead of us. It calls for hard work and sacrifices. Individual interests must yield to the national ones.

We are also beset with dangers. The external ones do not worry me so much as the internal ones. We must not play the enemy's game by creating, through word or action, disunity or disaffection among our ranks. We must look for moral or spiritual weaknesses, each in his own mind, and purify ourselves if we are to be at peace with ourselves.

I appealed earlier for active assistance in the task of Government. I shall also look for advice and wise counsel. It will be available to me in the Assemblies, the Councils and the public services. But I shall look for it even outside. I have had arrangements made for forums of intellectuals, experts and knowledgeable persons who can be consulted in their respective fields. In any case, I shall welcome a personal letter from any source, if it has an original and workable idea.

I look for ideas in the Press too. It can do a lot to promote national cohesion, constructive thinking and healthy public opinion. I am sure that it will strive to fulfil this role in our national progress.

The nation, in electing me, has approved the programme set out in my Election Manifesto. It will call for a new outlook on our social and economic attitudes. I have already initiated action within the Government for the adjustment of our programmes and policies. And I will be seeking the nation's assistance whenever required.

My foreign policy has already received the enthusiastic approval of the people. We need peace to concentrate on the development of the country. But we will defend our freedom, whatever the threat.

We are watching with admiration the heroic struggle of the oppressed people of Jammu and Kashmir to exercise their internationally promised right of self-determination. We shall stand by them through thick and thin.

To us, already blessed with freedom, there is need to appreciate it, to work hard to consolidate it by making our nation united and our country economically sound, so that we can hold our own with others in peace and war. The political and economic stability of the past few years has already, by the grace of Allah, set us on the road to progress.

Let us shed petty jealousies, parochial feelings and negative attitudes if they exist anywhere.

Let us work together for the greater glory of our beloved country.

(Speech after swearing-in for the second term of office of the President of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 23, 1965).

IQBAL—A SYMBOL OF MUSLIM RENAISSANCE

On the solemn occasion of Iqbal Day it is my pleasure to associate myself with the nation in paying a heartfelt tribute to the revered memory of our great national poet.

For us Iqbal is not merely an individual poet and philosopher, but an institution and a symbol of Muslim renaissance. His poetry inspired the nation with the highest ideals. The fundamental inspiration of his poetry is to blend thought and action and, by doing so, he paved the way for the freedom of Muslims of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

The best homage to Iqbal's memory is to re-dedicate ourselves to the ideals he stood for ; translate his message into reality ; shoulder the stupendous task of nation-building with missionary zeal ; evolve a national outlook, and ensure national unity to make the country of his dream a truly great state so that it may play its vital role.

(*Message to the Nation on Iqbal Day, March 27, 1965*).

WORK WITH ZEAL AND DEVOTION TO ENSURE PROGRESS : ADVICE TO THE PEOPLE

I am extremely grateful to the citizens of Rawalpindi and the people living in its suburb for inviting me here and according me an opportunity to talk to you. There will be no exaggeration if I say that I have great affection for you—the people of Rawalpindi—and this is not something unusual. I have spent a part of my life here. I, therfore, think I have a right to call myself an inhabitant of Rawalpindi.

I am grateful for what you have said about me in your welcome address. I am also grateful to the nation which showed foresightedness in re-electing me as President and thought that I would fulfil the requirements of the country in accordance with the demand of time.

I think the people of Pakistan felt the administration of the country cannot run without a strong and stable Government, not to speak of making any progress. I thank the people for all their help and cooperation they extended to me during elections. I am conscious of the fact that with my re-election as President my responsibilities have increased manifold. God willing, on my part I will not hesitate to discharge my duties to the best of my ability. The result rests with God.

I hope that if the people of Pakistan continue to work with same zeal and devotion there is no reason why this country would not progress and develop. I am confident that, *Insha-Allah*, this country would certainly make progress. I am also confident that in due course people will come forward who will carry on the work I have started.

I am also grateful to the nation who returned my party, with an overwhelming majority, to the National Assembly. In fact, they should have done like this. My re-election as President would not have been

so useful if my partymen were not elected to support me in the Assemblies and to help me in my nation-building programme. I expect that you will show the same sense of patriotism while electing the members to the Provincial Assemblies.

Foreign Policy

There is no complication in our foreign policy : it is crystal clear and straightforward. We want nothing but peace in the world and friendship with all. Today peace is very essential for the world, particularly for a country like ours. We have to develop our country and make our nation strong. We have colossal work ahead of us. It should be easily understood that we are making friendship with other countries simply for the sake of peace. It is a clear policy and none should be afraid of it. *Insha Allah*, we will prove true friends to those with whom we are in friendship. We will not make false promises. God willing, we will prove to the world and to our friends that we are steadfast in our friendship.

Water Shortage

You have mentioned about the scarcity of water in Rawalpindi. I know the population of Rawalpindi has increased. I know the pipelines have outlived their utility. You expect of me to announce here a grant of five or ten crore rupees to remove the water shortage. Had I this amount in my pocket, I would have certainly donated. I could make a promise if I knew the source wherefrom such amount could be made available. Such matters are settled through mutual consultation. I have full sympathy with you because I also face this difficulty alongwith you when there is shortage of water. I would advise you to take up this matter with the Central Finance Ministry and the Provincial authorities. It is always easier to shift the entire responsibility to others. But the things do not happen that way. I would suggest that this problem should be solved through mutual consultation and I hope that some workable solution would difinitely come out of that.

Kashmir Problem

Now I come to Kashmir. It is a heart-burning question for every Pakistani. It is a crime against humanity at large and not only the

question of sufferings of 40 lakhs Kashmiris. People of Kashmir have been deprived of their right and are held in bondage. In this way a ghastly crime is being committed against humanity. This is very painful to us. Believe me, it has been my constant endeavour to find a solution of Kashmir problem. But India and her leaders have so far failed to understand how useful it is to live in peace with her neighbours. India wants to settle every dispute with force and aggression. This has been her policy in the past and she is still pursuing this policy. Rather India has become more aggressive in her poicy since she has received arms and aid from foreign countries. Indian leaders pretend that China will invade India and devour her up. How China will invade India? After all there should be some way to launch an armed attack ; there should be some reason. About 70 crore people live in China. They do not need four or five crore human beings more whom they would have to feed. This is merely a hoax. India is not only weakening hereself but also becoming a source of trouble for her neighbours. We have raised our voice in the world against this and are still raising it ; we are not content with this. India has all along been our enemy. Why? We have failed to understand. We do not understand why India considers us her enemy. So long as India takes us as her enemy, we will also keep her busy. We will not allow her to live in peace unless she allows us to live in peace. Kashmir problem will, *Insh Allah*, be solved one day. How and when? I cannot predict. The only thing I can assure you is that we will not leave this problem unsloved.

I once again thank you for inviting me here. May God bless you and your children with happiness. May God keep this nation united and this country strong.

(English rendering of the speech at a civic reception held by the citizens of Rawalpindi, March 29, 1965).

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

The month of March was full of events of historical significance. First and foremost, the Pakistan Day gave us yet another opportunity to re-dedicate ourselves to the service of Pakistan. Those of us who lived under foreign domination, those who suffered at the hands of the majority community before partition, and those who went through the freedom struggle, know what a blessing the state of Pakistan is. The majority of such people are to be found among the masses who realise the blessings of Pakistan and would readily give even their lives for it.

Soon after the achievement of Pakistan we were reminded of a lesson of history which we had forgotten. With the disappearance of strong leadership, after the death of Quaid-i-Azam and Quaid-e-Millat, and the weakening of the centre, political and economic instability set in. Each passing year saw it grow from bad to worse. The country reached the verge of ruin.

The constitutional system then in force also lent itself to political manoeuvres and intrigues which in turn created chaos. This may have suited those who were playing the game of musical chairs of office, but it caused acute despair among our people, particularly those who were fully aware of what was going on and understood its implications. Friends of Pakistan became cool and indifferent. The foe bided his time in hope and readiness.

The revolution was acclaimed by the people of Pakistan who were by then sick of the politics and politicians of that time. The Revolution proved to be something different from an ordinary military take-

over. There was no bloodshed or repression. A large number of reforms, some of them revolutionary in themselves, were introduced. The previous constitutional system copied from abroad, which had been tried and found wanting, was discarded for a democratic system of our own which combines popular vote with stability. The country, by the grace of Allah, is back on the road to progress and prosperity.

That the people approved of all that has happened, in spite of the most relentless and misleading propaganda by some people to confuse them, was clear from the recent elections. The majority of our people were a witness of what had happened in the fifties. And they could not allow that nightmare to be re-enacted.

Coming back to the events of the last month, I had the honour to be sworn into office as President of Pakistan for the second term on the auspicious Pakistan Day. There could not have been a better day for this purpose. I feel inspired and deeply moved. And I would like those associated with me in the Government and in the Assemblies to be similarly inspired and moved into re-dedicating themselves to the service of Pakistan.

Another event of importance was the elections to the National Assembly. It is a matter of deep satisfaction for me that the Electoral College, which was elected by the adult population of the country, responded to my appeal and returned in such an overwhelming majority those who would support me in the performance of national duty. I would like to thank the people for their overwhelming vote of confidence in me and my policies. I am confident that they would show the same good sense and patriotism in the Provincial Assembly elections to be held shortly. The next five years are crucial. The economic growth of the past few years, and our ambitious Third Five-Year Plan if properly implemented, will *Insha Allah* lay firm foundations of our socio-economic well-being. Do we take the constructive path or indulge in the self-destructive ways of the fifties? The nation has given the correct verdict in the Presidental and National Assembly elections. It must be the same for the Provincial Assemblies which will be mainly concerned with development in the Provinces.

Earlier in the month, I had the privilege of paying a visit to the People's Republic of China. The friendly Chinese people turned out in millions to greet me and my party and to give us a most colourful and enthusiastic reception. It was obvious that the Chinese people welcome the growth of friendly relations between China and Pakistan as much as our own people do. The Chairman, the Premier and the

Foreign Minister of China remained with us as much as possible. This was a gracious gesture. The Chinese leaders and people are most considerate hosts and we deeply appreciate all that they did for us during our stay in China.

My meetings with the Chinese leaders enabled us to exchange views on outstanding world issues including those relating to our part of the globe. I am convinced that such exchange of views, and personal contacts, lead to a better understanding between countries and to the lessening of world tensions. That is why I look forward to my visits to the Soviet Union and to the United States.

Pakistan seeks nothing but peace to be free to devote all its resources and attention to the all-important task of socio-economic development. But to live at peace, you have to ensure that there are no avoidable misunderstandings and tensions. It is amazing how many wars of history and the resulting unnecessary sufferings could have been avoided easily by the exercise of tolerance and broad-mindedness. A little concession for the sake of peace yields unexpectedly handsome returns, in course of time. This is as true in public affairs as in private ones.

The other requisites of peace are justice and fairplay in international relations. These cannot be ensured by unilateral action. There has to be an international body like the United Nations to arbitrate, and, if need be, give a decision which must be enforced. That is why we have always accepted the UN decisions in respect of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, although these decisions were not always in keeping with our wishes. India has defied or rejected them all. And now she is trying the old game of repression in the State. Hundreds of Kashmiri leaders and patriots have been cast in the prison. A reign of terror has been let loose. It had never paid in the past and it never will. It shall merely stiffen the determination of the Kashmiris to cast off the Indian yoke. The final result is bound to be much worse for the oppressors than a settlement now through peaceful means. Those who sow the wind must be prepared to reap the whirlwind.

Similarly the frequent firing all along the ceasefire line and now the ugly Dahagram incident make no sense except to those who are satisfied with a petty gain or a temporary advantage. These things don't decide international issues which call for large-heartedness and statesmanship. If India were to show them, she would find us willing to respond.

The Regional Cooperation for Development is a good instance of how countries should live with one another. There was a meeting of

the Ministerial Council in Islamabad recently at which considerable progress was made with the implementation of the scheme. It involves considerable give and take by all the parties, but that is how international relations grow and harmonize. A similar understanding with Indonesia is well underway.

Another illustration of good neighbourly relation was the boundary agreement recently signed in Rawalpindi between China and Pakistan. This agreement was reached in a spirit of accommodation and understanding. But the advantages of a peaceful agreement far outweigh those of senseless quarrels about a gain here or there. Why can't such an obvious thing be seen and appreciated?

While your government which has been entrusted by you with defence and foreign affairs will look after these problems, you can all help by creating goodwill and peace at home. No nation can become strong unless it is united, through a process of mutual understanding, accommodation and tolerance. Secondly, please work hard and honestly in whatever field you may be engaged. And lastly, please always place the interests of your country above your own. May God be with you.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD.

(*First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation, April* 1, 1965).

RELIEF MEASURES OF PAKISTAN RED CROSS SOCIETY : A SUPPLEMENT TO GOVERNMENT EFFORTS

As in the past, I am glad to preside over the combined annual general meeting of the Pakistan Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association (Pakistan) and the St. John Ambulance Brigade (Pakistan) and to meet so many delegates and workers of these bodies from both wings of the country.

I have listened with interest to the report of the chairman about the work done by these bodies during 1963. It is gratifying to learn that the endeavours of the Pakistan Red Cross Society—in supplementing Government efforts in the fields of maternal and child health, family planning and provision of free medical aid to the indigent have increased threefold since 1958.

This is in keeping with the tempo of the overall progress in the country during the past 6 years. It is also commendable that your relief measures were extended not only to the less advanced areas within Pakistan but also to those in distress in some other countries.

The award of the coveted Florence Nightingale Medal to one of our nurses is good news. We are short of nurses and I trust that this award will spur our educated girl students to take up the noble career of nursing in much larger numbers. There is need to pay special attention to the deficiency in the nursing profession.

There is also need to prevent disease rather than cure it. During my recent visit to China I was struck with the cleanliness and sanitation of the cities as well as rural areas. It is due to each citizen keeping his or her house, courtyard and frontages spotlessly clean.

I was also impressed by the general standard of good health and

fitness among men, women and children. This is greatly due to the standard of cleanliness and sanitation and to hard work which keeps them high fit.

It is usual to advance the excuse of poverty for dirtiness, insanitation and even laziness. The Chinese people, who are no richer than us, have disproved this. They have by a national effort, to which each citizen contributes assiduously, created enviable cleanliness and sanitation, and they work almost round the clock. Nobody seems idle. We should not hesitate to learn a good thing from anywhere.

Before I close, I should like to commend the services rendered by the workers of the Pakistan Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association (Pakistan) and the St. John Ambulance Brigade in both wings of the country. I would also like to express my appreciation of the services rendered by Syed Wajid Ali Shah as Chairman of the central managing bodies of these organisations.

I wish the Pakistan Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association success and Godspeed.

(Speech at the combined annual general meeting of the Pakistan Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association (Pakistan) and St. John Ambulance Brigade (Pakistan), Karachi, April 1, 1965).

PAKISTAN—USSR RELATIONS : TO BE PROGRESSIVELY NORMALIZED AND DEVELOPED

Although the long-range results of my visit to the Soviet Union will unfold only gradually, I am happy to state that I have come back quite satisfied. We were given a warm reception, wherever we went, by the Soviet Government and people. This reflects the esteem in which Pakistan is held as a stable country, devoted to the cause of peace and progress. Our policy of seeking friendship with all countries, and particularly our neighbours, is evoking a positive response everywhere as it is a sound and realistic policy backed by our people.

My talks with the Soviet leaders were frank and cordial and enabled both sides to better understand each other. It is important to realise that contacts at this level are as much a symbol of better relations as they are conducive to friendship. This first visit from Pakistan will be followed by a visit by the Soviet leaders to this country.

It will be unrealistic to expect radical results from our visit. As the Joint Communique shows, there is a wide area of agreement between Pakistan and the Soviet Union on many important issues. Apart from such international problems as disarmament, nuclear-free zones, elimination of colonialism and maintenance of peace, we agreed on many basic principles such as the right of every people to determine their own future and the honouring of international agreements. These principles have a direct relevance to many problems of this area.

As I envisage the course of our relations with the Soviet Union, they would be progressively normalized and developed. The Soviet Union is a great Power. It is situated close to our borders and we have cultural and historical ties with its people. It is a highly advanced coun-

try, which not only played a vital role in the liberation of colonial countries, but is also contributing towards their economic independence. Above all, the Soviet people, who endured great losses during their heroic struggle in the Second World War, are, in my opinion, genuinely devoted to international peace. I believe we can live together as good neighbours and establish mutually advantageous cooperation. Our commercial, economic and cultural relations are already improving and my talks have convinced me that our political relationship will also develop to our common benefit. Within the framework of a secure and honourable peace, our basic pre-occupation must be to promote the economic progress and social welfare of our people. As we raise our sights in our economic plans, we must widen the sphere of our cooperation, and in this, I have hopes of greater collaboration with the USSR.

The world is again facing some serious tensions in certain areas, some of which are located close to our borders. I believe that the opportunities of discussing these matters with the leaders of important Powers can be a modest contribution to peace which all of mankind, and particularly the newly independent and developing countries, so ardently desire.

Having concluded visits to two of our great neighbours, China and USSR, I am looking forward to visiting the United States of America with which we have close and friendly ties.

(Statement to the Press at Lahore on arrival from USSR, April 11, 1965)

EID-UL-AZHA MESSAGE

On this auspicious day, I wish my countrymen the heartiest "Eid Mubarik". May the spirit of sacrifice for a higher cause inculcated by this day be our guiding light in all walks of life. No nation can progress, or even survive, unless it learns to make sacrifices. And one can best learn it by practising it in one's daily life when numerous occasions arise in which there is a clash between the lower and the higher things of life.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

(*Message to the Nation on Eid-ul-Azha, April* 13, 1965).

ENTRY INTO THE AGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY : ONE OF OUR NATIONAL AIMS

It gives me great pleasure to be here this evening to inaugurate this Centre of Atomic Energy Commission in East Pakistan.

I think all of us would agree that the dedication with which the Atomic Energy Commission has implemented its programme and projects since 1960 from almost a scratch is commendable. For this the credit in a large measure goes to the untiring zeal of the Chairman Dr. Usmani and his colleagues. I congratulate them for collecting such a talented team of young scientists and engineers for undertaking the noble tasks of building traditions of research and scholarship which in conditions of modern life are the ultimate source of strength of a country.

National Aim

Here let me emphasise that one of our national aim is to enter the age of science of technology as fast as we can. In this, who else can help than our scientists? They alone with their spirit of adventure can discover Pakistan.

We are not a rich nation today but who knows what lies beneath our sea shores, the hills, the rivers, and the earth which gives us sustenance. Our scientists can borrow the results of research done elsewhere and help us to adopt them to our needs or do original research on problems peculiar to Pakistan ; but the fact remains that it is only their efforts that can help us to make a real breakthrough.

For solving our problems we need youngmen of science and funds for research. Funds are the least of our worries because they can

always be found. After all 1% or even 2% of our gross national product is not such a high figure that we cannot allocate for the scientific effort. Our great worry is talented and experienced scientists. These cannot be produced overnight. We must therefore, concentrate on producing scientists and engineers in large numbers in our universities and technical institutions. Till such time as the universities take to expand, build, and equip we must send our youngmen and women of science to the leading institutions abroad for research and practical experience in pre-selected fields of importance to Pakistan. Here again the example set by the Commission is worth following.

In short a full scale national strategy has to be evolved not by Goverment alone but by scientists and Government administrators sitting together. This exactly was the purpose of the National Science Council. I hope they will apply their minds to this over riding need.

Knowing that we are running a race against time and that talk alone would not help, I have created a separate Division for science and technology under my direct charge. It is my hope that this Division would activate the National Science Council to bring proposals for a massive scientific effort and give our scientists a chance to show their mettle. Any worthwhile scheme they put forward will be given due consideration.

Atomic Energy Programme

Let me now say a few words about the Atomic Energy Programme. We must realise that the discovery of Atomic Energy and the impact it has made and will make, in our lives is so staggering that we cannot afford to ignore it. Whether it is agriculture, irrigation or industry, no development is possible without abundant supply of cheap power. Our per capita consumption of 40 units per year is one of lowest in the world and our conventional energy resources are not all that great. In nuclear power we have an alternative source of unlimited energy for our growing needs. This we must harness in all the high-cost fuel areas of Pakistan as how else can we develop these areas. The Atomic Energy Commission's principal aim should be to set up the nuclear power generating stations of a concept and design which would be most econcmical and competitive. To help it in this task with little interference, we have decided to pass an act which will give statutory autonomy to the Commission, similar to the autonomy enjoyed by other corporations set up by the Government. The two stations at Karachi and Roopur will

provide us with that data, information and experience under conditions of extra structure of industry in Pakistan which is vital for future planning.

I am glad to know that very soon the Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology (PINSTECH) will have the facilities of work round our first research reactor where problems connected with the operation and maintenance of power reactors, radiation damage, and fuel cycles can be studied and solved. Operating the power reactors with plutonium as a fissionable material which is obtained as a by-product from the reactors will be one of the important problems to tackle at the Institute.

I would now like to declare the Atomic Energy Centre, Dacca, inaugurated. May it flourish and help us to achieve our national goals.

(Inaugural address at the Atomic Energy Centre, Dacca, April 27, 1965)

PEOPLE OF ALL REGIONS TO HAVE EQUAL SHARE: AIM OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

I am very grateful to the citizens of Dacca that whenever I come here they invite me to such receptions. I am grateful to you this time also for your kind invitation. I am also humbly thankful for the kind references which Mr. Abdul Jabbar has made to the little services I may have been able to render to the nation.

I want to start by assuring you that it is my policy and the policy of my Government, and everyone should be aware of this, that the people of all regions should have an equal share in the prosperity of this country. The people of "Purba Pakistan"* had this complaint that the pace of development here was very slow. It is no use now going into the reasons, whatever they were.

Removal of Disparity

It should be clear from the development achieved during the last 4 to 5 years in this Province that we were sincerely trying to implement our policy of removing disparity. It is our firm belief that this is the right policy, that the pace of development in "Purba Pakistan" should be quickened and that your genuine complaints be removed. When this question was being considered 4 to 5 years earlier, doubts were expressed whether the pace of development in this Province could at all be speeded up, whether the local administration could take up the responsibility, whether the people would give their cooperation in this task of development. The experience of the last 4 to 5 years has proved beyond doubt that indeed this could be done. The administration has

*East Pakistan

improved several times and the people also have taken a very large part in the development activities in the province. The result is that the face of this Province has completely changed.

In future, when the Third Five-Year Plan goes into operation, the development will be much larger. My prayers and my good wishes are with you. I will impress upon you that it is now your responsibility to work hard for the improvement of your standards of life, to strengthen the country and improve the economic condition of the people in this area. The responsibility for developing a country does not devolve on one man, on the Government or on the administration alone. It is the responsibility of each individual. The people can become conscious of their own responsibilities and can shoulder them only if they are made directly responsible.

Delegation of Powers

If you study the Constitution, you will find that the responsibilities of the Central Government have been reduced only to those subjects with which they are directly concerned. All other fields of activity have become provincial responsibilities. The Provinces and the Provincial administration, on their part, have been asked to delegate powers as far as possible to the Divisions, the Districts and the Sub-divisions. Power has, in effect, been so distributed that certain responsibilities now devolve on the District Councils, Union Councils and even at village levels.

Recently, a friend of mine told me that one of my political opponents had a number of complaints against me and one of his major complaints was that all the powers had been transferred to the Provinces and the Centre had been rendered powerless. In the schedule contained in the Constitution, the fields of Central responsibilities have been specified. All other responsibilities have been handed over to the Provinces. Previously, there used to be a Concurrent List of Subjects in which the Centre and the Provinces used to have joint responsibility. Even this list has been removed. All the powers, in effect, have been handed over to the Provinces. The thinking which prompted us to this course was that when the people were made responsible, they would learn to shoulder it. The Government's task today is not to maintain law and order or to keep the people under control and collect taxes. One of their chief responsibilities is to arouse the people and they could only

be aroused when they are asked to shoulder the responsibilities of our own country.

Autonomy To Provinces

My political opponents sometimes criticise me on the ground that the Provinces have not been given autonomy. (Here the President referred to the bifurcation of a large number of autonomous bodies and institutions like the railways, the WAPDA, the PIDC, the Agricultural Development Corporation and a number of financing corporations). The Provinces have been handed over so much power as could never be conceived by anyone in the past. When I told my colleagues that the railway and PIDC would be handed over to the Provinces, some of them thought I had gone mad or something. How can they run these? But the experiences of the last few years have proved beyond any doubt that when the people were made responsible, they showed that they could run them, and by the grace of God, run them very well too. The Central Government's responsibility is to help the Provinces so that they can run their affairs well and the Provinces' responsibility is to help their subordinate Departments so that they can discharge their responsibilities successfully. Responsibilities should be handed down by stages till they reach the level of Union Councils where the people can directly shoulder the responsibilities and run the country. Some people have an idea that if funds are handed over to the people, they will misappropriate it. Let us take the Works Programme this year which allocates a sum of Rs. 25 crores for this Province. Today, I had an opportunity to go to a few Union Councils in Noakhali. You will be surprised with what meticulous care they have maintained the detailed record of all their activities and accounted for each farthing of their expenditure. It is not that they are angels or that they are better than the average people but the fact is that they have to live with the local people and if they resort to malpractices, the people would come down real hard upon them. The lesson we should learn is that the more responsibilities we entrust to the people, the more conscious and aware they will become of their duties and there will be more awakening among them.

We now come to the question of encouraging the people in East Pakistan to come forward in larger numbers to participate in the development of industries and commerce. You are aware that a number of

financing authorities have been set up in order to help the people of this wing.

Concentration of Wealth

It is a fact that while there has been progress during the last 15-16 years, large sums of money have also become concentrated in the hands of a few persons. Some people have the complaint that they have made their money in wrong ways also, through black market or other anti-social ways. Now for the future, we have to devise a system so that there is equitable distribution of wealth and chances of serious misunderstandings and strife are eliminated.

People's Right To Share

People should have the assurance that they have a right to the benefits, in proportion to their labour and efforts. We are now considering a number of things : whether it was proper for industrialists to have their own managing agencies, their own banks and insurance companies to devise a system by which they confine the distribution of wealth within the members of their own family and whether these can be rectified. There are some industrialists who produce consumer items, and handle the wholesale and retail trade for these commodities themselves or through their family members. This raises doubts in the minds of the people whether they have a right to share in the wealth and prosperity of the country. Even in the case of certain necessities of life like wheat, rice, clothes, cooking media and building materials like cement and steel, etc., some businessmen are unfortunately making 75 per cent to 100 per cent profit. All these have got to be properly examined.

No Retribution

Our aim will not be to punish any one or any class of people. Our aim will be to see that the industrialists themselves derive some benefits and the common people also have the assurance that they will be entitled to their rightful share. We are considering all these things and I am confident that some sort of solution will emerge.

Land Reforms

But we have to consider these things objectively. We cannot find a reasonable solution if we are carried away by our emotions and

impulses. If you try to take impulsive action, there is the likelihood of serious repercussions in the country. I have referred on previous occasions to the difference in the way land reforms were carried out in "Purba Pakistan" as opposed to the way adopted in West Pakistan. I maintain that land reforms introduced in "Purba Pakistan" have completely shattered the middle class in the Province. The result is that we do not have any class of people in this Province who could exercise a balancing influence in favour of peace and stability, who could see that undesirable things did not happen and who could make people realise the harmful effects of undesirable activity. Therefore, when agricultural reforms were introduced in East Pakistan we took particular care to see that the reforms did not result in the complete destruction of the landlord class. We, however, ensured that no landlord was left in possession of land beyond a reasonable limit. At the same time, we left them enough so that a family could work full time on it and get out of it sufficient profit to enable it to maintain a reasonable standard of living and to educate their children. We want that reforms should not be extreme measures but should follow a middle course.

The Middle Course

As has been maintained in the Holy Quran, Mussalmans are a middle-of-the-road community. In my younger days, when I read this passage, I used to feel dismayed. I misunderstood this to mean that the Muslims were a people who were not prepared for bold action and great effort, who would not leave the beaten track and try anything new. But if you try to comprehend the real meaning of this passage, you will realise that in order to be able to follow the middle course, it will be necessary for you to exercise tremendous restraint on your habits and inclinations, on your tongue, on your activities and on your emotions. Human nature has weaknesses and foibles. They are prone at times to stray from the right path. That is where the followers of the middle course have an advantage. If we subject ourselves to restraints and if we weigh the pros and cons of the effect which a certain action is likely to have on our society and community, divine guidance will carry us along the right path.

Third Five-Year Plan

In the next two to three months we will reach the launching stage

for the Third Five-Year Plan, according to which we hope to invest a sum of Rs. 5,200 crore for the development of the country. You will realise, I hope, that it is quite a task to be able to collect this huge amount and still more difficult to be able to properly utilise it in fruitful measures within the period of five years. In the Second Five-Year Plan we had decided to utilise about Rs. 2,300 crore but we actually were able to utilise between Rs. 2,600 and Rs. 2,700 crores and you can yourselves see what benefits this has brought to the people and how their economic conditions have improved. Now, that we propose to invest double this amount, you will see its effect and also realise that huge responsibilities we will have to discharge.

Need For Peace

In crder to work for development, this nation will need peace and political stability within the country, peace in the world and friendly relations with our neghbours. It was in accordance with this need and desire for peace that I undertook visits to China and the USSR. We strengthened our ties with Turkey, Iran, Burma and Ceylon and are trying to develop our relations with Afghanistan.

Relations With India

We have also always tried to develop our relations with India in a manner that we could live in peace and friendliness as good neighbours. Unfortunately, the leaders of India seem to have failed so far to realise the advantages of the philosophy that there can be a lot of good in living as friends and honouring the promises given and agreements arrived at. I am quite clear in my mind that once the Indian leaders can understand this, it will be possible to reslove our differences and problems with the greatest of ease. On the contrary, however, the Indian leaders made promises on Kashmir at least a dozen times and went on to break them each time. They went about in foreign countries seeking support for their wrong position.

Repression of Indian Muslims

They resorted to repression of the minority Muslims in India and as a result about 5 to 6 lakh poor Muslims have been pushed out from the border areas on false charges and pleas. I wonder what benefit

India can derive from this policy. Would this relatively small number of Muslims eat up the 450 crores of Indians? If this small number of Muslims could be such a threat to this vast country, then it is doubtful whether there was any justification for India to come into existence at all. We have a Hindu minority in our country and we consider them our own citizens. Although we should have genuine grievances against a section of them because they continually transfer funds to India, but we have adopted a generous attitude towards them. We have not subjected them to any discriminatory treatment. But in India where the Hindus are in an overwhelming majority wherever they can get hold of a few Muslims, they consider it a valorous act to oppress them. This is happening every day.

Conditions in Kashmir

In Kashmir, during the last year or a year and a half even a little freedom which was there (and there was very little indeed when the people did not even have the liberty to open their mouths), is now being taken away, against their will. India apparently has not taken any lesson from their experience that in spite of the fact that a lakh and a quarter of their armed forces are stationed in Kashmir, the people have not accepted Indian overlordship. It is surprising how India could persuade herself that by changing a certain law or taking recourse to this or that action, or by trickery, they could purchase the conscience of the people of Kashmir. Now is it possible that any of the people of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent who have gone through tremendous struggles in order to attain freedom can ever remain happy under, or can resign themselves to conditions of enslavement? They can never be so and if India persists in keeping them under their domination, they will always have to maintain an army of one lakh and a half to keep them under their heels. You can now calculate what it must have cost India in the past and how much more it will cost her in the future.

It is inevitable that just as in our personal life we have to take recourse to 50 wrongs in order to hide one wrong, a nation, when it has committed a major wrong and persists in maintaining that wrong position and refuses to come to the right path, will have to fall into fifty more errors. It is an inexorable divine law that wrong-doers should reap the harvest of their misdeeds.

Boundary Disputes

We have some small pockets of our territory in India and India has some pockets in Pakistan. These are known as enclaves. We should probably be grateful to the British that they have left us a generous inheritance of headaches. When they were drawing the boundaries of the two countries, these things could have been straightened out. But they probably did not feel inclined that way and thought it would not be a bad thing if the two countries remained on the worst of terms. However, India created an unnecessary situation in Dahagram and it might have escalated into a major conflict. Such things have a way of deteriorating quickly and a minor incident can develop into a major confrontation.

The Rann of Kutch Dispute

Now there is the Rann of Kutch which is towards the south of Sind. There is not a blade of grass in that area and all that there is, is salt. There was an old dispute in that area between Sind and Kutch. The people of Sind used to claim half of Rann as part of Sind, while those living in the south claimed the whole territory as theirs. Before partition, talks were held between the two parties for resolving this dispute but without any result.

As far as I can recollect, the Indian army once attacked a small unit of our armed forces which was stationed at Chadnal in 1956 without any provocation and drove them out. However, our Government remained calm and no further clashes took place.

What happened during the past few months is this : the Indian Army attacked our police patrol party without any provocation. India sent its forces into certain areas which are clearly within Pakistan and they dug trenches and bunkers there. At present there are over three brigades of the Indian Army stationed there. At the same time, they brought their air forces to Jamnagar and held a naval exercise to browbeat us. I do not understand why India is taking recourse to these things. This is just a bit of mischief and nothing else. However, when India sent her troops, we had also to send owr armed forces. When two forces face each other, naturally they do not remain inactive. They had to do something. Then the Indian Army opened cannon and machine-gun fire on our positions and our people had to do something in their turn. They took retaliatory action on a small scale and not in a big way at three or four points. All that our people wanted to say

was "Please do not harass us beyond our endurance". We had to silence the cannons which were being fired continuously at our positions and then at places where the Indian posts had intruded into our territory, we had to send our own forces.

Indian Propaganda

But the Indians are very wise and discreet. When our men went into the positions where the Indians had intruded, they found the whole place deserted. They had all fled away. There were not many casualties or much losses. The Indian Radio, however, is carrying on a full-blast propaganda, raising a high hullaballo that Pakistanis want a fight, they want a war, a calamity has overtaken India and that sort of talk. But Pakistan has not gone mad that they should like to go into a place like the Rann of Kutch (where you cannot get even water to drink) in order to fight the Indians.

Cease-fire Proposal

Now the wise course would be to have a cease-fire. We have proposed so. If this is a disputed territory, let us have a cease-fire. We want fighting to cease and we would be prepared to withdraw from the disputed territory and the Indians should be prepared to do the same. Then the representatives of these two countries should sit down together and come to an agreement as to where the border lies. Both the countries should be prepared to accept a just solution. We are ready to accept such a solution gladly.

Activities of Indian Politicians

Across our border, what is happening is that Indian politicians are active, moving about in the disputed area. One gentleman who is reputed to have drawn up India's famous plan for the war against the Chinese, was there ; the Indian Defence Minister and the Home Minister; the Chief Ministers of Gujrat, Rajasthan and West Punjab were there. They were touring the areas and saying so many people have been killed or injured and we have been very cruel. Now, if the Indian forces had informed us before they came into our territory we would have considered them as our guests and we would have certainly been very courteous and would have tried to make them happy and

comfortable. What the Indians are trying to do is to play politics with the help of army and this is a very dangerous thing. This is playing with fire. Neither India can afford to invite a major conflict, nor can Pakistan. We do not want that our relations with India should deteriorate. We would want to sit down together and solve all our problems peacefully and justly. But as long as India does not accept a just solution, we will not hesitate to defend our position. I have recounted the whole situation in detail so that you can understand the correct position. The Indians have launched a propaganda against me and they are shouting all over the world against me, abusing me over the Radio and in other ways, without the slightest justification. This whole thing can be settled in two minutes and everyone knows such matters cannot be settled through a war.

In the end I want to thank you for the reception you have given me and I can see you have made arrangements for tea and as I am myself feeling thirsty, I do not want to waste your time or mine. I would like to thank you again and say "May God Bless You" and may I have the pleasure of such receptions every time I come and visit you here.

(Full transcript of the speech delivered in Urdu at the civic reception, Dacca, April 27, 1965)

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum

During the last two months I had the privilege of visiting the Chinese People's Republic and the U.S.S.R. My visit to these countries was in response to the invitations received from these two great countries. It was also in pursuance of our desire for peace and understanding with our neighbours. At the same time I wanted to see if there was any meeting ground for the major powers whose interests clash in Asia. We hold no mandate from any country on this account and our quest for peace has no other objective but to create an atmosphere of harmony and goodwill in this part of the world. The 100 million people of Pakistan have a great stake in peace in Asia and indeed in the whole world. It is, therefore, in our interest to make whatever contribution we can to eliminate causes and areas of tensions and conflicts.

It is unfortunate that our efforts in this direction have occasionally been misunderstood by some of our friends. While it is true that in normalizing our relations with various countries, and in particular with our neighbours, we are primarily promoting our national interests. A little reflection will show that in doing so we are also promoting the interests of those who are struggling for peace in this region. It is our duty to create understanding and amity on as wide a basis as possible. And this objective we shall continue to pursue.

Lasting peace must be based on principles of equality, justice and self-determination. This is what we endeavoured to communicate to the leaders and the people of the Chinese Republic and of the U.S.S.R.

It was worthwhile for we received a reassuring response to our views and sentiments in both countries.

I find it painful to have to say that our relations with India, instead of showing any improvement which has been our ardent desire, have deteriorated. There is continuous killing of poor and innocent Muslims by the Indian Army along the cease-fire line. In other areas too India has been indulging in similar futile but tragic activities. First it was Dahagram and now it is the Rann of Kutch. An attempt is being made to create mass hysteria in India. We had anticipated some such situation. The Indian economy is groaning under the heavy and unnecessary burden of a massive arms build-up and the Indian rulers must find some means to divert the attention of their people.

The story of the Rann of Kutch is well-known. The part of the Rann down to parallel 23.58 had been under the administration of the old Province of Sind since before partition—although the State of Kutch claimed it to be a part of that State. This remained the position for nine years after partition. It was in 1956 that India forcibly occupied Chhad Bet. And since January this year, she has intensified her arms build-up in the disputed territory and attempted to seize the Kanjarkot area by force. This attack was foiled and our forces are now in the disputed Rann.

We are now told for the first time that this is not a disputed territory at all. It is amazing how some people can deny the facts of history with impunity. Apart from discussions to settle this dispute before partition, there have been a number of conferences between India and Pakistan, the last one being in 1960 between Sardar Swaran Singh and Lt.-General Shaikh. India asked for more time to collect data to present her own case in this dispute. This was agreed to by us but there was also categorical undertaking by both sides that, in the meantime, the *status quo* would be maintained. This undertaking has been violated by the recent Indian action.

This is typical of India's way of settling disputes. She has consistently settled them by force, whether the dispute related to Junagadh, Hyderabad, Goa or Kashmir.

We have been accused of 'naked aggression'. If we had wanted to commit aggression, we would have chosen a better area than the mud flats of the Rann of Kutch. And there were better occasions—for instance when the Indian forces were on the run after their defeat at the hands of the Chinese. But our desire to maintain peace restrained us in spite of frequent and grave provocations.

India has now threatened us with further aggression in a battle ground of her own choice. Does she realise that this will mean a general and total war between India and Pakistan with all its unpredictable consequences. How can such a reckless and provocative statement be made by highly responsible persons? If such a situation is forced on us, nobody can expect us not to meet the challenge. In a grave situation like this, words should be weighed carefully and tempers should be curbed.

We, on our part, are prepared to sit round a Conference table and to settle this dispute peacefully as we have always tried to do. If only India would see the merit of the simple virtue of living peacefully with her neighbours and settling problems amicably and justly, she would earn a lot more goodwill and be able to reduce her crushing but self-imposed military and economic burdens.

In Kashmir too, the history of the last couple of years is a story of India's intensification of her peculiar methods of solving international problems. She first made an attempt to buy the conscience of a few local people in Indian-occupied Kashmir and then through them tightened the bonds of slavery on the poor and oppressed Kashmiri people. The legal name given to this activity is "integration" of Jammu and Kashmir with India. This is the worst form of chauvinism and imperialism. How can you win the hearts of people who loathe you and have been resisting your presence in their own humble but determined way for the last 18 years? Nothing can help India to cover the initial crime of subjugating the people of Jammu and Kashmir and denying them the choice granted to all parts of the sub-continent. This right stands endorsed by all countries of the world and cannot be resisted. The history of this part of the world will take the right course only after the people of Jammu and Kashmir have been able to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination in a free and fair manner. Till then their struggle will continue and our solemn pledge to support them will stand, come what may.

Similarly, it will pay India handsomely to treat her minorities, particularly the Muslims, well. They constitute no political or economic threat to her. If treated well, they can be a source of great strength to India. That is the path of peace, international harmony and strength, and international goodwill. Presecution or genocide will never give peace even to those who perpetrate it.

I have said time and again that we want to live in peace with all our neighbours, including India. We do not say this out of any sense of

fear as some wishful thinkers might like to imagine. It is sound common sense and it is good for both India and Pakistan. In friendship and understanding lies the future happiness and progress of the people of both countries. But this can happen only on an honourable basis and on the basis of equality and justice.

In the meantime the people of Pakistan must remain calm and united. While we are prepared for all eventualities, we must continue to pursue the path of persuasion, negotiations and peace as long as the path is open to us.

Before I turn to affairs at home, I should like to pay a tribute to our Armed Forces which have given such an excellent account of themselves in the retaliatory action we have had to take in the Rann of Kutch to recover our territory. They fought under very difficult conditions but lived up to glorious past and to the expectations of their countrymen who are proud of them.

At home, the elections to the two Provincial Assemblies will take place in about a fortnight's time. The verdict of the nation has been clear in the elections already held to the National Assembly and to the office of the President. The importance of the Provincial Assemblies cannot be gainsaid. They are concerned with your day-to-day life. All the nation-building departments and most of the public services stand transferred to the Provinces. The Third Five-Year Plan, which aims at setting our country on her feet economically, will be implemented mainly in the Provinces. The next five years are, therefore, going to be crucial in the history of our nation. What is required, more than anything else, is political stability and united effort to strive for the attainment of the high goals which we are fixing for ourselves. I have no doubt that the verdict of the nation will be as sound and clear as in the case of the National Assembly elections. Let us sink local and personal differences and place the interests of the nation and the country above personal gains or prejudices.

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD.

(*First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation, May* 1, 1965)

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES : ESSENTIAL FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am glad to have this opportunity of being with you at the second annual dinner of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Karachi. I would like to say, Mr. Jawad, that I am most grateful to you for making so many suggestions. I also admire your criticism. In your address, Mr. President, you have touched upon a vast range of subjects of varying importance. Since on an occasion like this it would not be possible for me to deal with all of them, I shall confine my remarks to the more important ones. This, however, does not mean that the points to which I do not make a specific reference will not receive consideration by the appropriate Ministry of my Government.

You have referred to the grave situation created by India on our borders. In the course of my first-of-the-month broadcast*, I have already dealt with the genesis of the present conflict and the course of events up-to-date. I can assure you that in our conduct we have acted with the greatest restraint. Negotiations for a cease-fire are in progress. I would not, therefore, like to say much on this subject, this evening. This conflict is not of our seeking. We do not covet Indian territory. We want a peaceful settlement of our disputes, but we cannot allow ourselves to be bullied into sacrificing our interests or territory by threats or use of force.

*May 1, 1965. Pages 198-201.

Social Sector

I share your concern for a more rapid development of the social sector, for the provision of free education at all levels, homes for the disabled and other measures of social security. These are laudable objectives the attainment of which is conditioned by the availability of resources. We have to develop the capacity not only to build such institutions and services but also to sustain them. As the economy expands, larger and larger resources will be set apart for this sector. This is a field in which governmental effort can and should be supplemented by private philanthropy on an ever-increasing scale.

Private Enterprise

You have, Mr. President, touched upon the role of the private sector vis-a-vis the public sector. My Government appreciates the buoyancy shown by the private sector in the field of industry and Government will continue to make the fullest use of the spirit of enterprise shown by the business community. But it must be appreciated that private enterprise is, by and large, actuated by the profit motive and there are certain industries which, because of the heavy outlay or complicated nature of the process involved or prospects of inadequate return, might not attract private enterprise. Such industries might be vital to the country's economy. It will be unwise to wait the pleasure of private parties to embark on such projects. The Government will have to step in to fill the gap. It will supplement rather than supplant private enterprise. The industrial targets that we have set for ourselves in the Third Five-Year Plan will provide ample scope for private enterprise and public initiative. We shall need them both in the interest of balanced development and orderly growth.

Agricultural Situation

I am always pleasantly surprised when industrialists plead the cause of agriculture. I hope that this interest is more than academic. I would like to take this opportunity to bring the assessment of our agricultural situation a little more up-to-date. During the last five years, our agricultural situation has changed dramatically from a period of stagnation in the previous decade with agriculture growing at a rate of only 1.3 per cent per annum to 3.5 per cent growth during the Second

Plan period. We are now moving ahead of the population growth in this critical sector of our economy. The use of fertilizers has increased at least five times, the area covered by plant protection operation has tripled and the availability of water has increased substantially. As a result of these significant increases in key inputs and improvements in institutional framework for agriculture the total foodgrain production during the last five years has increased by 27 per cent against the Plan target of 21 per cent. The production of cotton has increased by 38 per cent and that of sugarcane by 44 per cent.

Our growing emphasis on agriculture is also reflected in the agricultural programme for the Third Five-Year Plan. The increase in the allocation for the Agriculture Sector in the Third Plan is 128 per cent larger as compared to 87 per cent for industry. The growth rate in agriculture is to be stepped up from an average of 3.5 per cent per annum in the Second Plan to 5 per cent; growth in industry will only maintain its previous level. In fact a larger number of projects in the industrial sector are geared to the requirements of the agricultural sector to produce fertilizers, pumps, tubewells, tractors, transport and agricultural implements.

There is no rivalry between agriculture and industry. The well-being of one is linked with the well-being of the other. No sensible person will regard the two sectors as mutually exclusive and in our planning we have always regarded them as inter-dependent since no economy can achieve self-sustaining growth by ignoring one or the other. We should take all possible steps to ensure that the imaginative programmes that we have formulated for both these sectors, are fully implemented.

Heavy Industry

I am surprised that even at this stage of our development, misgivings persist about the rationale of developing heavy industries in the country. I cannot see how we can achieve our objective of reducing dependence on external assistance for the import of capital goods unless we extend the import substitution effort to heavy producer goods industries. Domestic demand for many capital goods is now large enough to permit domestic production on an economic scale and our industrialists have acquired sufficient experience to move into more sophisticated areas of manufacture. It is a mistaken notion that capital goods industry requires more imported raw materials and less domestic skills. On

the contrary the proportion of raw materials required is less in industries which involve a higher degree of fabrication. This is why the raw material requirements of consumer goods industries for each unit of output are larger than those of the capital goods industries.

In selecting the fields of heavy industries, we shall not sacrifice economic considerations. We are not out to set up prestige industries. We shall keep in view the limits set up by the size of the domestic market and possible exports.

Elimination of Cartels

I am pleased that your Chamber appreciates my Government's policy to eliminate cartels and monopolies and to reduce concentration of wealth and economic power. It is a happy sign that the industrialists themselves are becoming increasingly conscious of the need to facilitate the transition to a more broad-based ownership of capital and greater social justice. We would like the private sector to flourish on a broader basis so that the common man also benefits from the blessings of economic growth. In other words, we want to avoid schism and conflicts in our society and any action that we may take in this direction will be based on pragmatism and fairplay. We want the industrialists to flourish, but we also wish the common men to live.

Export Promotion

My views on the importance of export promotion in our strategy for development are too well known to need repitition on this occasion. To be able to export we have to be quality and price conscious and adopt productivity as an article of faith. While the domestic consumer can be called upon to make some sacrifice in order to give protection to nascent industries, the foreign buyer will show no such consideration. The Standards Institute is giving priority to the drawing up of standards for our products which enter the export trade. Schemes for the introduction of pre-shipment inspection are also being formulated. These measures should help the export drive. Our performance in the field of exports during the Second Five-Year Plan, has been very encouraging. We have set our sights higher for the Thrid Plan period. You shall deserve well of the country if you exceed the Plan targets. The Government on its part will continue to give all possible help to boost exports and the recommendations made by the Export Promotion Council

in this regard, will receive sympathetic consideration. But you must remember that very often our projects are linked to foreign aid. We are continually fighting against that.

Procedures for granting permission to set up new industrial units have been simplified to a very large extent. Some controls are essential for the good of the economy. The financing institutions have been given an almost free hand in sanctioning industries within the framework of the industrial investment schedule and bureauratic controls have been reduced to the barest minimum. It should not, however, be forgotten that the financing agencies have of necessity, to observe certain indispensable formalities. They have to satisfy themselves about the economic viability of the project and the credit-worthiness of the borrower before sanctioning a loan. If you have any concrete measures to suggest for streamlining their procedures, you will not find these institutions or the Government unresponsive. I think that financing institutions and banks should accept immovable property as guarantee against loans.

I hope your Chamber will continue its efforts to increase the understanding and co-operation of the business community for the policies and programmes of my Government. It is only in a spirit of wholehearted understanding and co-operation between different segments of society that we can hope to accomplish the gigantic social and economic task that the nation has set for itself.

(Reply to the address of welcome at the annual dinner of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Karachi, May 3, 1965)

HELP EAST PAKISTAN CYCLONE VICTIMS : APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

Calamity has stricken East Pakistan once again. The cyclone and tidal waves which swept the Province on May 11 have left behind desolation and misery on a vast scale. Hundreds of lives have been lost and thousands have been rendered homeless. The damage to property is colossal. Government is rushing medical supplies to the affected areas and has put in train other measures of relief including the provision of food, clothing and building material. The extent of the calamity is such that it calls for help both from the Government and the people of Pakistan.

I, therefore, invite the people of Pakistan to donate generously to the President's Relief Fund which is being started for this purpose. This is a field in which Government efforts should be supplemented by private philanthropy. Everybody, big or mall, can assist according to his means.

All donations may be sent by cheque or money order to "President's Relief Fund" C/o the Comptroller and Auditor-General of Pakistan, Lahore, who is being appointed the Honorary Treasurer to this fund. All donations will be acknowledged, and announced periodically.

For the facility of local donations, all branches of the National Bank and all Post Offices are being authorized to accept donations, give receipt and remit the funds to the Comptroller and Auditor-General of Pakistan.

(*Appeal for aid to cyclone victims in East Pakistan, May* 16, 1965)

IMBIBE SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM AND MUSLIM NATIONALISM : ADVICE TO STUDENTS

President of the Anjuman and Brothers : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I am thankful to you for your love and sincerity in extending an invitation to me to attend this session. I am also thankful to you for the kind references made to my services in your address.

By the grace of God, our country has made marked progress in every field during the last six or seven years. My Government has been trying its best to accelerate the pace of this progress.

Stability is a *sine qua non* for the advancement of a nation. My conception of a Government is that it should be strong instrument of the people's welfare and this conception has been the pivot of my domestic and foreign policies. The main objective behind the various reforms, which have been or are being introduced, is the development of the country and the prosperity of the people.

All institutions, whose efforts are directed to secure this end, are sharing the Government's responsibilities and their activities for that reason, deserve commendation.

Anjuman's Efforts

Your Anjuman also is engaged in educational and reformative work in an effort to serve the people and for this reason, I am greatly interested in this institution and visiting this place for the last many a year. I am really pleased to see the work of the Anjuman. I am confident that the Anjuman will continue this noble task with perseverance and sincerity and will serve the cause of Muslim nationalism.

The completion of Pakistan's new Five-Year Plan calls for untiring toil and efforts. More benefits will accrue to the coming generation than to us as a result of our endeavours. Therefore, we should not mind a little inconvenience for the sake of making the future of your children glorious and prosperous.

Muslim Nationalism

The creation of Pakistan is based on the ideology of Islam and Muslim nationalism. And for this reason, we stand for universal peace and maintenance of friendly relations with our neighbours. It has always been the policy of my Government to strengthen friendly relations with all countries of the world, particularly our neighbours. But it is a matter of deep regret that our relations with India continue to be strained despite our best efforts to see them improve. This is because India wants to solve the outstanding issues with us by resorting to force and aggression instead of settling them on the basis of justice and fairplay. Pakistan is always willing and prepared to resolve them through peaceful means, but not at the cost of its national honour and inalienable rights.

I would like to reiterate that Pakistan needs peace to better the lot of its people. We want peace. But if war is forced on us, every Pakistani is ready to make the highest sacrifice for the defence of the country.

Educational Progress

Now I would like to say something about education in our country because a country's advancement and economic prosperity depend on educational progress.

It is my heart-felt desire to introduce an educational system in the country which can ensure scientific and technical progress on the one hand and the development of spiritual and moral values on the other. This will enable Pakistan to occupy its rightful place among the advanced countries of the world.

The Government is determined to create an atmosphere for the youth in which they can suitably develop their talent and build up their character. Simultaneously, we want to raise the educational standard so that the national development projects can be implemented at an accelerated speed.

We spent 95 crores of rupees on education during the Second Five-

Year Plan and will be spending Rs. 273 crore during the Third Plan. This will give you an idea of the importance which my Government attaches to education. In this connection, you will be pleased to know that the expenditure on education this year is eight times the one in 1959.

Public Contribution

Along with the Government efforts, it is also the duty of the public to promote the cause of education by contributing their bit. It is a matter of gratification that benevolent people have come forward and made generous donations to the Anjuman for this purpose. However, some wealthy people have shown miserliness. They should enhance their contributions. The rich should part with a portion of their wealth willingly for public welfare. The Government resources are limited and the well-to-do persons must extend their help and co-operation to supplement the Government efforts.

I am happy to note that the Anjuman is doing its best to promote the cause of education and public welfare and the people are greatly benefited.

After Aligarh, the Anjuman is the only institution which has been serving the cause of the Muslims. A number of good Muslims dedicated their lives to promote the Anjuman's mission so that the Muslim nation should have its rightful place in the comity of nations.

I would like the Anjuman to intensify its effort to infuse the spirit of patriotism and Muslim nationalism, search for stability and a national service. I want the students studying in the institutions of the Anjuman to develop the same national spirit. If students fail to cultivate these virtues, all education is useless.

Teaching of Holy Quran

The Anjuman deserves every possible financial help from the rich people for various national services. One of them is the accurate printing of the Holy Quran and its rendering into simple Urdu. The Government has been helping the Anjuman to promote this project and will continue to do so. The propagation of the Holy Quran and translating its teachings into action are the greatest assets of the Muslims. They are also an instrument and guarantee of their religion and worldly progress.

The greatest advantage of education is that it creates a sense to distinguish between good and bad. A true understanding of the Holy Quran is essential. We should reach the hearts of the people through their intellect.

In view of the useful work being done by the Anjuman, I announce a donation of four lakhs of rupees.

I thank you again for having invited me to be present here today. I wish success and Godspeed to the Anjuman in its mission and pray for the progress and solidarity of Pakistan.

LONG LIVE PAKISTAN.

(*Address at the concluding session of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, May 30, 1965*).

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

May was an eventful month. It produced moments of anguish and grief which the people bore with courage and fortitude.

First, there was a cyclone of unprecedented fury which caused devastation in eight districts of East Pakistan. The cyclone was accompanied by a tidal wave 12 to 13 feet high. I toured the affected areas three days ago and it caused me great pain to see the ravaged countryside. More than 12,000 lives have been lost while a full assessment of the immense damage caused to property and to the communication system has yet to be made. There has been widespread sympathy for the victims of the cyclone throughout the country and abroad. I have appealed to the people to contribute generously to the relief fund started for the rehabilitation of the areas hit by the cyclone. The Government of East Pakistan has put in train large-scale relief measures. But Government machinery alone cannot cope with the situation. There is need for private assistance. A large number of poor innocent people are still without shelter having lost all that they possessed. It is our moral duty to see that each one of them is fully rehabilitated and if we can make some contribution towards this end, we should do so ungrudgingly.

While the full story of the havoc caused by the cyclone was still being unfolded, the nation received another terrible shock. A PIA airliner on its inaugural flight, crashed near Cairo. More than a hundred people, drawn from different walks of life, lost their lives in this accident. Among them were a number of leading men and women in their

walks of life. The tragic news was received by every one with a sense of personal loss. There was sympathy also for the National Airline which has to its credit an excellent record of safety and efficiency.

These events occurred against the background of the tense situation along our borders. While there was a virtual cease-fire in the Rann of Kutch, the Indian rulers thought it fit to deploy practically the whole of their army along the borders of both East and West Pakistan. In view of India's threat of striking Pakistan at a place of her choosing, we had to take appropriate precautionary measures. The result is that today the armies of the two countries are facing each other in an atmosphere charged with tension. We have made it clear, time and again, that we do not want war. It is a luxury few countries can afford, least of all poor developing countries like India and Pakistan. Our abhorence of war does not, however, mean that we are not going to defend our country if we are attacked. I visited the troops on the front and found them in high spirits. I am confident that if war is forced on us the fighting forces of Pakistan will give an excellent account of themselves.

Negotiations for a cease-fire have been going on for over a month. We welcome the initiative shown by the British Prime Minister in bringing about a settlement. He and the British High Commissioner in Pakistan have brought great patience to bear upon their role as mediators. I sincerely hope that their efforts will bear fruit and a meaningful settlement will soon be reached. The incident in the Rann of Kutch is a symptom and not the disease. A lasting settlement between India and Pakistan can only be achieved if the real malady is attended to.

The conditions in occupied Kashmir and along the cease-fire line have been steadily deteriorating. The Indian rulers who have been pursuing a policy of repression and suppression have now let loose a reign of terror in the valley. The unarmed and helpless people of occupied Kashmir are being subjected to all kinds of indignity. This is not going to break the spirit of the valiant Kashmiris, who are continuing their heroic struggle for freedom against great odds. The Indian Government, in a moment of frustration, decided to re-arrest Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg who have been only recently released after nearly 10 years of detention without trial. Their only fault was that they continued to raise their voices for the liberation of their people. What India forgets is that the voice of freedom cannot be stilled and the silence of Sheikh Abdullah and Afzal Beg is as powerful as their eloquence. It will continue to disturb the conscience of the world and

demand that the people of Jammu and Kashmir be enabled to exercise their right of self-determination. I wish India would realise that peace cannot be secured if solemn international commitments remain unhonoured.

I have repeatedly stressed the need of peace in this part of the world. We have to create stable conditions in which our development programmes can be implemented. We are nearing the end of the Second Five-Year Plan during the course of which we were able to create an adequate infrastructure and an appropriate framework for economic growth. The targets in the key sectors of the Plan have been largely achieved and in many cases exceeded. Both in East and West Pakistan, the eonomy has registered a growth rate of more than five per cent. The agricultural sector which had remained stagnant in the fifties showed new life and vigour. Agricultural production recorded an increase of 3.5 per cent per annum during the Plan period, while industrial growth increased by 8.6 per cent. The national income increased by over 29 per cent compared to the plan target of 24 per cent. The economy today is well set for generating a higher rate of growth.

Soon we shall be embarking on the Third Five-Year Plan which received the approval of the National Economic Council last month. The implementation of this Plan will take us much nearer to our goal of self-sustaining and self-generating economy. The total Plan outlay will be Rs. 5,200 crore which is more than double the size of the current Plan. The target of increase in the national income has been fixed at 37 per cent and it is estimated that 5.5 million additional job opportunities will be provided. A higher rate of growth in East Pakistan has been envisaged in order to reduce the present disparity in the economic conditions of the two Wings. Out of the total Plan outlay, an amount of Rs. 2,700 crores has been allocated in East Pakistan.

Policies will be initiated for restraining concentration of wealth, maintaining a reasonable level of wages, and stabilising the prices of essential consumer goods. All these policies will be geared to the implementation of the pledges I made in my Election Manifesto.

The success of the Plan will depend on the magnitude of the national efforts and the extent of public support. I have no doubt that both will be forthcoming in an abundant measure.

Election to the Provincial Assemblies were completed last month as programmed. Results have given a clear and decisive majority to the Pakistan Muslim League in both the Provinces. The process of elections has been long and arduous. Apart from its educational value,

it has established a political system in which people throughout the country have been able to participate. The differences and controversies generated in the elections should now recede into the background and leave the stage clear for a united and determined effort to build the country. The representatives of the people should devote themselves as members of a team to legislative work on constructive lines.

The members of the electoral college will soon assume their responsibilities as Basic Democrats and on them will fall the burden of creating a proper social and economic climate in which to pursue the objectives of the Third Five-Year Plan, in particular those which have a direct bearing on the rural economy of the country. An amount of Rs. 3.50 crores has been provided for the rural works programme out of which Rs. 200 crores will be utilised in East Pakistan and the balance in West Pakistan. There is no reason why the face of the countryside should not undergo a complete transformation if proper projects under this programme are drawn up and implemented with full participation of the people of the area. The future role of Basic Democracies is under examination. I hope it will be possible to transfer more functions and responsibilities to Basic Democrats, each one of whom should in course of time, become the pivot of social and economic activity in his area. *Ameen.*

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD.

(*First-of-the-month Broadcast to the Nation*, *June* 1, 1965).

SET A NOBLE EXAMPLE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS : APPEAL TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MEMBERS

Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members : Assalam-o-Alaikum.

I would like to congratulate you first, Mr. Speaker, on your unanimous election to this august office. The trust which the Honourable Members have placed in you is a tribute to your long judicial experience and your political eminence. I have no doubt that you will fully justify this trust and discharge your responsibilities with impartiality, sagacity and patience.

May I also take this opportunity to congratulate you all on your election as Members of the National Assembly of Pakistan. Each one of you has entered the portals of this Assembly as a representative of the people. Each one of you is charged with the responsibility to promote the collective good of the nation in complete subordination of individual desires and interests.

As members of a vital organ of State, it is for you to guide the destiny of the nation in the legislative field and to forge such instruments as will be of service to the community as a whole. Through your deliberations you will establish a base on which the edifice of social justice can be raised.

Your predecessors made a significant contribution towards the working of the Constitution. They were pioneers in the field and had to break fresh ground. It will be your privilege to consolidate the gains achieved so far and to explore further avenues for the progress and development of the people. This you will be able to do only if your thinking and your conduct are inspired by the knowledge that you are

here to serve the cause of the people and not to advance personal or sectional interests.

Like you, I have also received a mandate from the people. I made certain pledges to them when I sought re-election to the office of President. These pledges were embodied in my Election Manifesto. It is not uncommon for individuals and parties to promise the moon to the elector to get their votes. The elections over, most promises are conveniently forgotten.

Election Manifesto

I have lost no time in initiating action for the implementation of my Manifesto. The tasks that I have set for myself are tasks that cannot be accomplished by a single individual. These are tasks which will require the whole-hearted support of you as legislators, the devotion to duty of the services, and, above all, the hard work of the people. The measure of success will reflect the measure of co-operation of all concerned. I, for one, will stint no effort and spare no pain. I pray to God for guidance and strength. It is He who blesses our efforts and shapes our ends.

Directions have gone to all Ministries of the Central Government and to the Provincial Governments to examine in detail each and every pledge with a view to its implementation. Several recommendations have already been made. These came up for discussion in the Governor's Conference early this month and a number of decisions were taken. We cannot hope to achieve all our objectives in one burst of activity. It will be a continuous effort—spread over days, weeks, months and years. When we reach one mile-post, we shall find the next beckoning us.

New Constitution

The recent General Elections have proved beyond doubt that the Constitution is simple, workable and sound in essentials. It has enabled the overwhelming mass of our people to participate in the affairs of state with an awakened sense of identification with its purposes and its objectives. It has provided them a unique experience in democracy and self-expression and political education.

The Constitution, under which you have been elected, is a man-made document designed to deal with human problems in the light of

contemporary reality. It is intended to provide a stable and realistic framework for administering the country. It is not an immutable law of nature that cannot be tampered with under any circumstances. There is always room for improvement. It will be for you to suggest wholesome changes in the Constitution should circumstances so warrant. But let it be remembered that change cannot be pursued as an end in itself. It must always be directed to some national purpose determined by the requirements of the people. Any change which is advocated merely to conform to some alien theory, will only expose the country to the hazards of political instability.

Political Stability

I commend this to you because I am convinced that Pakistan's stability comes first and foremost. It transcends all other considerations. This does not mean, as some would like to imagine, the perpetuation of the rule of an individual. It means the establishment of a lasting political and social order—an order capable of withstanding stresses and strains, group pressures and individual frailties. Each one of you, by your conduct inside the House and outside it, can contribute towards building that order. Without such an order no planning for the future can be undertaken with confidence or certainty.

Tasks Ahead

We are engaged in the gigantic tasks of lifting the teeming millions of our people from a level of bare subsistence to that of productive effort and decent living. There are many gaps we must close, many disparities we must remove. First, there is the gap between those endowed with knowledge and those steeped in ignorance. Then there is the gap between the rich and the poor. Such disparities are not conducive to the growth of a harmonious society.

While political changes are relatively easy to bring about in a short period of time, socio-economic patterns have roots that go much deeper in society and environment, and any attempt at transforming them must perforce take years, if not decades, of persistent effort in depth and dimension. Our economic resources are limited and so is our fund of technical know-how. To these limitations must be added those which have resulted from certain inexorable facts of history imposing a psychological restraint, as in other developing nations, on our people's capacity for original and creative work.

Faced with a tremendous lag in science and technology and forced to live for centuries in an environment of prejudice and superstition, our people are confronted with the grim challenge of the modern age, which, at times, tends to appear too formidable to be met.

But it is my conviction that our people are rapidly shedding their inhibitions and are taking to science and technology more readily than many an emerging nations of the world.

With the progressive growth of scientific outlook and the will to compete with the advanced nations of the world, our people will, before long, harness their national resources to achieve an economic break-through.

Development Plans

We can look with some measure of satisfaction at our performance during the Second Five-Year Plan. Since 1948, we have saved and invested every year nearly one-fifth of our national income, thus achieving an unprecedented growth rate of over five per cent, which is one of the highest in Asia. The increase in national income during the Second Five-Year Plan shot up to 29 per cent, exceeding the Plan target of 24 per cent.

The base for a major economic build-up having thus been prepared, we are ready to embark on the Third Five-Year Plan, which reflects a stupendous effort towards planned progress.

The Third Five-Year Plan was prepared two years earlier to enable an analytical appraisal not only by our own and foreign experts, but by the national Press, the public, and the Central and Provincial legislatures, thereby ensuring the fullest possible public endorsement of the guiding economic philosophy, as well as the targets and objectives of the Plan.

The Third Five-Year Plan proposes a gross development expendi-diture of Rs. 5,200 crore of which East Pakistan gets Rs. 2,700 crore, that is, Rs. 200 crores more than West Pakistan.

Third Plan Objectives

In keeping with the undertakings in my Election Manifesto, the Third Five-Year Plan seeks to—

"attain a rapid growth of the national economy within the shortest possible time ;

"increase the per capita income so that an average household of 5 may have a monthly income of Rs 320 by 1985 ;

"increase the Gross National Product by 37 per cent in the next five years as compared to 29 per cent in the Second Plan ;

"reduce the existing level of disparity in income between East and West Pakistan by increasing total income by 40 per cent and 35 per cent respectively in the two regions ;

"attain full employment by creating at least 55 lakh new job opportunities for the unemployed labour force ;

"develop basic industries for the manufacture of producer goods ;

"attain a self-sustaining economy by reducing the country's dependence on foreign assistance ;

"improve the balance of payments of the country by increasing the country's foreign exchange earnings ;

"improve agriculture on a sound basis to move towards self-sufficiency in food requirements and to increase the real income of farmers ;

"achieve universal education upto the lower secondary level ;

"provide better housing and more health services for the lower income groups ; and

"make progress towards diminishing inequalities in the distribution of wealth and economic power and providing a measure of social security and promoting social and cultural change."

Effects of Overpopulation

In most under-developed countries there is a race between the birth rate and the rate of growth. Gains made on the economic front are largely neutralised by the population increase. There is always the risk of these countries sliding back instead of moving forward. The same problem stares us in the face and we can break it only at our peril. We are going to launch a massive programme of Family Planning and have made a sizeable allocation for it in the new Plan. We have no illusion about the immensity of the task and the difficulties that beset our path. We shall have to over come ignorance and prejudice. I hope that in this, I will have the active support of all thinking people who have the welfare of the people at heart.

Role of Basic Democracies

In our circumstances few institutions can contribute more substan-

tially to planned progress than Basic Democracies. The role that Rural Works Programme under Basic Democracies has played in transforming the rural economy, has emboldened the planners to make an allocation of Rs. 250 crore for this programme. Of these, Rs. 150 crore have been allocated to East Pakistan. Efforts are now being made to enlarge the scope of Rural Works Programme and make the people more and more responsible for its execution.

Sound Planning

The success of the Third Five-Year Plan will depend not so much on the material resources contributed from without as on the effort that we mount ourselves. It is not my intention to underrate the value of the generous assistance that friendly countries and the World Bank are giving us in implementing our plans. I have just received the news that the Consortium has agreed to give us 500 million dollars for the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan. This is the amount we asked for. It speaks volumes for the soundness of our planning and the faith our friends have in our capacity to execute the Plan. This assistance is over and above what we hope to get from our great neighbours—China, U.S.S.R., and the East European countries.

Outside assistance will be a tremendous help ; but the bulk of the effort will have to come from within. Each one of us has a part to play in the process of nation-building. It is good to remember that prosperity is not an accident, but the result of sustained effort : that nations are built not by harping on their past, but by working for their future.

The economic regeneration of Pakistan not only requires a long period of political stability, but uninterrupted years of peace. We can promise a decent life to our people in the foreseeable future only if we are able to concentrate our human and material resources on development.

Indian Threat

Regretfully, we find ourselves today in the shadow of a threat posed by India. In spite of our repeated calls to reason and sincere expression of desire to settle all outstanding issues peacefully, Indian leadership continues to be unresponsive. Indian armed forces are poised dangerously along our frontiers in East and West Pakistan. Hardly a day passes when the Indian Government does not conjure up imaginary

pretexts to threaten us with aggression. Little does Indian leadership realise the fatal consequences that will follow in the wake of war if, God forbid, war was to break out between Pakistan and India.

It is my fervent hope that the people of India who, like our people, need peace to overcome centuries' old legacy of poverty, disease and suffering, would not allow their rulers to embark upon the dangerous course of war. Should the people of India fail in restraining their leaders we will have to do what a self-respecting nation must do to safeguard its sovereignty and integrity. We will not allow anyone to trifle with our security. Survival comes first—everything else must be subordinated to this paramount consideration.

I know that the Indian propagandists are trying hard to project us as a quarrelsome neighhour but the world knows that we have consistantly followed a policy of peace.

Relations with Other Countries

We have normalised our relationship with China and the Soviet Union and established bonds of friendship with Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon and Nepal. We have cemented our relations with Iran and Turkey and entered into Regional Co-operation for Development with them. We are promoting similar co-operation with Indonesia.

It is essentially with a view to enlarging the area of co-operation and understanding that I shall soon be visiting U.A.R. with whom we share a common faith and in whose prosperity and progress we have deep interest. From there I shall be going to London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference to renew old contacts. Towards the end of the month, I hope to be in Algiers to participate in the Second Afro-Asian Conference. This Conference promises to be a great get-together of African and Asian countries who share a common heritage and face common problems particularly in the field of economic development. A number of Heads of States and eminent political personalities from Africa and Asia are expected to participate in this Conference. I am looking forward to a frank and friendly exchange of views on problems affecting the future of this region of the world.

We are committed to a policy of peace and progress and it is in pursuance of this policy that we are trying to build up a relationship of sympathy and understanding not only in Africa and Asia but with all other powers.

We are convinced that we can build a strong and prosperous

Pakistan not by dissipating our resources on the acquisition of arms, but employing them wisely on productive enterprizes. Our strength will lie not in the number of soldiers under arms and the size of our Defence Budget, but on the support and co-operation of a happy and contented people. Fortified by the indomitable spirit of our people and dynamic faith in our ideology, we shall continue to follow the path of stability and progress. The coming times are going to be historic times. The people of Pakistan, you and I, have a major part to play in them. Let us make sure that we acquit ourselves well and to the best of our ability—as a matter of duty and moral compulsion—setting for the coming generations a noble example to follow. May Allah give us guidance in this great endeavour : *Ameen.*

PAKISTAN PAINDABAD.

(Address to the newly-elected members of the second National Assembly under the Constitution of 1962, *Ayub Hall, Rawalpindi, June* 12, 1965*).*

PAKISTAN AND THE UAR : BOUND BY TIES OF ENDURING NATURE

I have concluded a two-day visit to the United Arab Republic at the invitation of President Nasser. I am grateful to President Nasser and the Government of the UAR for the warmth and the hospitality extended to me and my party. This brief visit provided me an opportunity for a cordial, frank and fruitful exchange of views with President Nasser. We discussed the current international developments, the relations between Pakistan and the UAR and in particular matters relating to the Second African-Asian conference to be held in Algiers.

Our exchange of views revealed the wide area of common agreement and identity of views. We were in complete accord on the importance of bending our efforts for the success of the Second African-Asian Conference. It will be Pakistan's endeavour that the Conference should stand as a landmark in the attempt to strengthen African-Asian solidarity in the common quest for peace based on justice, freedom and a fair Islamic ideal for developing countries. Pakistan will take its stand at the Conference on principles—the principle of self-determination and its exercise, the implementation of the UN resolutions, the principle of equity in international trade, the declaration of nuclear free zones in Asia and Africa and put its full weight behind the fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism and apartheid.

I have also apprised myself during my stay here of the impressive progress made by the UAR under the dynamic leadership of President Nasser in face of heavy odds and difficulties, and wish the Government and the people of the UAR continuous success in their efforts to modernize their economies and to establish a more just and equitable society.

We, in Pakistan, are likewise engaged in the struggle to raise the living standard of the common man and to bring about social justice and social progress. Both Pakistan and the UAR are passing through the transitional stage marked by change and growth and they have a lively appreciation and understanding of each other's problems and difficulties.

The ties that bind Pakistan to the UAR are many and of enduring nature—the ties of a common faith from which stem values, cultural affinity, identity of outlook and approach on quite a few important questions. The cultural and economic contacts between the two countries will expand, their relations will deepen and their understanding of each other's viewpoint will appreciabely increase and their friendship will be strengthened in the years to come.

(Statement on the conclusion of official visit to UAR, issued at Cairo, June 15, 1965).

THE RANN OF KUTCH AGREEMENT : A MODEL FOR OTHER INDIA-PAKISTAN DISPUTES

I am happy at the successful conclusion of the negotiations for a cease-fire in the Rann of Kutch and for arrangements for settling the dispute concerning that territory. An agreement to this effect has been signed today. Simultaneously, the Indian Prime Minister and I have also agreed to arrange for orders to be issued forthwith to our respective troops to withdraw from the entire India-Pakistan border. This should bring to an end the present confrontation of the armed forces of the two countries.

This second agreement is in some respect even more important than the agreement on the Rann of Kutch dispute. Never before have India and Pakistan been closer to war than during recent weeks, when the armies of both countries have stood in menacing confrontation along the entire India-Pakistan border. Never, therefore, has there been a greater need for a cool, calm and realistic approach to the India-Pakistan relationship. Fortunately, wiser counsels have prevailed and the sub-continent has been spared the horrors of war.

The two agreements, one relating to the settlement of the Kutch dispute and the other to disengagement of the Indian and Pakistan Armies, constitute an act of high statesmanship. They clearly demonstrate that India and Pakistan can and should resolve their disputes through peaceful means. I hope they will constitute a turning point in India-Pakistan relations.

According to the agreement concerning the Rann of Kutch a cease-fire in that territory will take effect at 5-30 a.m. on July 1st. The

armed forces of both India and Pakistan will completely withdraw from the disputed territory within one week.

The agreement for a cease-fire in the Rann of Kutch provides also for the settlement of the dispute concerning that territory. This dispute will be considered at an India-Pakistan Ministerial meeting, but, failing agreement within two months of the cease-fire, it shall be referred to arbitration by a Tribunal consisting of three independent persons. The provisions of the Agreement concerning this Tribunal and implementation of its decision are self-operating and precise, so that neither side can delay or frustrate a settlement of this dispute. The Agreement provides that the Tribunal must be constituted within four months of the cease-fire. It further provides that the decision of the Tribunal shall be binding on both Governments and that the Tribunal shall remain in being to settle any difficulties that may arise in the implementation of its decisions.

It would be wrong to present this Agreement as a victory for Pakistan or India. It is a victory for common sense. It constitutes a model for the manner in which all India-Pakistan disputes can be settled, should other peaceful means of settling them prove unavailing. In all such cases the sensible answer is to have recourse to independent arbitration —as is being done in the present instance—not to seek to settle the disputes by resort to arms. The latter course would engulf both India and Pakistan in a most devastating conflict. This surely could not be in the interest of the people in either country.

There is one further aspect of these agreements which deserves particular mention. By this means both Governments seek a reduction in the present tension between the two countries. I welcome this development. Our relations have drifted down a dangerous course for too long. These agreements signify that it is possible to arrest this process and that all India-Pakistan disputes can be settled through peaceful means. We have always been and still are, willing and ready to do this. I trust that Indian leadership will be equally forthcoming. I am certain that it too must see that the true interests of India—as indeed those of Pakistan also—would be best served only if Indo-Pakistan disputes are resolved so that the two countries can live as good neighbours and devote their resources to developing their economies in peace.

Throughout this critical period, which I hope these agreements will now bring to a close, Pakistan's armed forces have acted with great valour, speed, efficiency and, above all, with the utmost restraint in the

face of often grave provocation. They have given a most impressive demonstration of their readiness and competance to defend the country.

I must also commend the poise and calm that our people, in both East and West Pakistan, have shown during this difficult period, in disregard of the war-like preparation and tense atmosphere across the border. This is eloquent proof of the confidence our people have in themselves and in the ability of their Government to safeguard the country's interest.

Finally, I would like to express my grateful appreciation of the efforts made by the British Prime Minister in bringing about this settlement. I have all praise for the perseverance and tact shown by him and his High Commissioner in Pakistan throughout these difficult negotiations.

(*Statement on the conclusion of the agreement on the Rann of Kutch Dispute, June 30, 1965*).

THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN : A NEW PHASE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Fellow Countrymen :

The 30th of June, 1965 was the last day of our Second Five-Year Plan. You have already read and heard what this Plan has achieved. Our performance in the social and economic fields has been far beyond all our expectations. But let there be no complacency. A nation either advances or recedes : it can not be static. Our success in the Second Plan enables us to face the years of the Third Five-Year Plan with determination and zeal. Let this first of July be historic in the annals of our march to greater prosperity, greater economic viability, greater self-reliance. We have done more than we hoped to. Our friends have stood by us and promise to stand by us in the coming years. We are launching an ambitious Plan and entering into a new phase of economic development which will need brave decisions and hard work. But I am sure we shall succeed, *Insha Allah*. May God, in His infinite wisdom, lead our footsteps and may His light be our guide.

(Message to the Nation on the eve of launching of the Third Five-Year Plan, June 30, 1965)

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